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Influence of John Greenleaf Whittier's Quaker
beliefs on his poetry.

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Thesis

THE INFLUENCE OF JOHN GREENLEAF
WHITTIER'S QUAKER BELIEF ON HIS POETRY

Submitted by

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INTRODUCTION

That all the world loves a poet is true, chiefly of that poet whose songs are in the hearts of mankind. His birthplace becomes classic grounds. His features, manners, traits, and habits are subjects of natural curiosity. The hills and streams he was familiar with are beautiful, only because his eyes dwelt upon them; his haunts in the woods or shaded vales, his outlooks from the heights are charming, because he enjoyed them. If visible Nature filled his forming mind with the sources of poetic images, he in return impregnated the same scenes with his own spirit, and left as it were, an immortal benediction upon them; so that the grandeur and beauty which first broke upon the poet is reflected back by the splendor of his genius, and his admirers in later days see all things in the embellished lustre that he gave them. The chair he sat in, the school bench whereon he carved his name, the church which he attended, are all pervaded by his unseen presence. A thrill comes with every thought of contact transmitted from the beloved hand; the latch falters, the footstep throbs on the threshold, the fireplace groans and yearns from the corner.

All things lead the poet's disciples in his beloved ways to the sources of his thoughts. It is only poets that are thus universally loved and honored, because theirs are the thoughts made lasting for the ages. The subject of this thesis deals with a man, a natural and spontaneous singer, to whom the Muse came early in his youth. Among eminent poets he is one who had fewest advantages of culture and travel, and has made the least show of scholarship. He was brought up under an austere rule, with a total denial of pleasure as the world esteems it; and an unquestioning obedience to duty early took and maintained the place of boyish impulse. He had few companions and fewer books; and he had known no more of the actual world than could be seen at a small seaport, a dozen miles away. In observing the development of a poet, and the growth of his fame, it is common to consider it a miraculous rise from obscurity; but Whittier was never obscure; even in the seclusion of his father's farm, the promise of genius was manifest from his very first lines; and the delay of recognition on the part of the world, was it an unusual circumstance?

We shall see, further, that his struggles and sufferings for the sake of conscience were no less remarkable than his purely intellectual efforts; that

his services to humanity would have been memorable even if he had never penned a line; that the story of his life would have been a noble lesson even if the world had never felt its influence and that he would have been loved and revered even if his name had never gone beyond his native town.

Every poet reflects upon his writings certain beliefs and creeds which he holds sacred and treats with scorn those subjects which are against his doctrines. The poems of Rudyard Kipling are replete with subjects of the English army life, while those of Francis Thompson have a distinct religious air about them.

The ultimate objective of this thesis is to show that the Quaker belief influenced the poetry of Whittier.

To do this it was necessary to solve three proximate objectives. The first to show that the Whittier family were Quakers. The second to give a few fundamental tenets of the Quaker sect. The third to show how these doctrines are embodied in his poetry. His poems may be grouped together under three distinct heads: 1) Religious poems, 2) Anti-Slavery, 3) poems against persecution.

Because of his firm adherence to the doctrines of the Quakers, he has lost much of the popularity that rightly belongs to him. This is especially true in New England, where Whittier's fame has yet to reach its height. The

previous studies in this field have been very limited in number. There have been two biographers of Whittier of exceptional note, those by Francis Underwood and W. Sloane Kennedy. A book by Chauncey Hawkins very clearly points out the Spiritual influence in the poetry of Whittier. Because of his firm adherence to this sect his star was halted in its upward flight. It is the hope of the writer that this thesis will help in some small way to clear away the mists of unpopularity which have enshrouded this man.

The method used in collecting data for this thesis has been historical, except in the case of the interview technique which has been employed several times. I am deeply indebted to Mrs. Phoebe Caliga Grantham, of Danvers, a niece of the poet, whose kind co-operation and help has been an inspiration. The loan of her books and of Whittier's poems, many in the original, is deeply appreciated.

ANCESTORS OF WHITTIER

The common ancestor of the Whittiers is Thomas Whittier, who in the year 1638 came from Southampton, England, for Boston, Massachusetts, in the ship "Confidence" out of London, with John Jobson as master. He married Ruth Green and lived first at Salisbury, then at

Newbury. In 1650 he moved to Haverhill.¹ "He was admitted as a freeman May 23, 1666." Thomas died in Haverhill November 28, 1696. His widow died in July 1710 and her eldest son, John, was appointed administrator of the estate. Thomas had ten children, of whom John became the ancestor of the most numerous branch of Whittiers. Joseph, brother of John, became the head of another great branch of the family and is the great-grandfather of the poet. Joseph married Mary, daughter of Joseph Peasely, of Haverhill, by whom he had nine children. Joseph, the second child being grandfather of the poet. Joseph was the first to bring the Quaker religion into a long line of Whittiers. An entry in Chase's History of Haverhill for November 20, 1699 reads as follows: ²"The town then formally voted that the new meeting-house should be the place where the people should in the future meet and attend for constant worship of God. Immediately upon this Joseph Peasely moving that the town would allow him and others to meet at the new meeting-house for, and in their way of worship: which is accounted to be for Quakers. It was read and refused to be voted on." Joseph married Sarah Greenleaf, of Newbury, by whom he had eleven children. The tenth child, John, was the father of the poet.³ He married Abigail Hussey, who was a daughter of Joseph Hussey

1. Chase's History of Haverhill - page 72.
2. Chase's History of Haverhill - page 176.
3. American Author's Ancestry - page 98.

of Somersworth, now Rollingsford, New Hampshire. The poet's mother was Mercy Evans of Berwick, Maine. There were four children, Mary, John, Matthew Franklin and Elizabeth.

To analyze and describe the poetry of Whittier is a comparatively easy task, for it is essentially lyrical and descriptive. His poetry is not profound but simple and melodious - now flashing with a fire of indignation, now choked with passionate scorn, and now rippling and flowing through the tranquil meadows of legend and song. The Quakers are forbidden by the Christian Gospel of Love to countenance war, capital punishment, slavery and persecution. The same sterling material that went to the making of the Quaker went also to the Puritan farmer of Old England. The same faults characterized each class.

In stiff-backed independence and scorn of the conventional manners, and in the absurd extreme to which they carried their doctrine the Quaker and the Puritan were alike. Only the Quaker "out-Puritained" the Puritan, - was much more consistent in his fanatical purism of belief, scrawny asceticism and contempt for distinguished manners and the noble imaginative arts. And surely a sect which has produced such characters as Lucretia Mott, John Bright and John Greenleaf Whittier must win our intellectual respect, but it is only because these

persons, like Milton, were in most respects above their sect that we admire them. ¹"Whittier as we have seen was born and brought up in the Society of Friends of which he always remained a faithful member." Doubtless such a course was essential to the very existence in him of poetical inspiration. His genius is wholly lyrical, a song or a lyric is the outgushing of pure emotion. Especially in the case of the religious and ethical lyricist, is faith life and doubt death.

Doubt in Whittier's case would have meant cessation from song. To break away entirely from the faith of his fathers would have dulled his inspiration. But although his religious views have been somewhat liberalized by science yet he has never ceased to retain a hearty sympathy with and belief in, the Quaker principles of the Inner Light and Silent Waiting. That he has remained within the Quaker religion has been an injury to him as well as a help. It makes him obtrude his sectarianism too frequently, especially in his prose writings.

He is too thin-skinned about its faults, he exhibits something of the nervous irritability of an invalid in defending it from the least assault. When he dons the garb of a sectary he becomes weak and uninteresting. We see then that he is a man hampered by a creed which forbids a catholic sympathy with other beliefs. He seems

1. John Greenleaf Whittier - Higginson page 115.

to be confined in a narrow prison cell, bounded by the walls of sectarian morals and religion. He cannot, for example, enter by historical imagination into the poetical sympathy with the gorgeous ritual and dreamy beauty of a European cathedral service. And yet so pure, gentle, and sweet is his nature that it is hard to censure him for this peculiarity. It is a regret we feel rather than censure, regret that he has not the strength of body and mind to break wholly away from the hampering limitations and to be always what he is, the sweet-voiced spokesman of the heart of Humanity. Lowell, the poet, pays tribute to Whittier which sums up the foregoing.

¹"There is Whittier, whose swelling and vehement heart
Strains the strait-breasted drab of the Quaker apart,
And reveals the live Man still supreme and erect
Underneath the be-mummying wrappers of sect."

²"Continually we see that in the choice of subjects, Whittier is governed by his Quaker training, and by his deep convictions upon moral subjects. He has not sought out the world's heroes and favorites for eulogy, but has given his tributes of affection and sympathy to those whom the world has despised."

THE RISE OF QUAKERISM

In 1648 after a whole generation of mortal combat, Catholicism and Protestantism stood face to face bleeding

1. "A Fable for Critics" - James Russell Lowell page 54.
2. John Greenleaf Whittier - Underwood page 198.

and breathless, both mutually defiant and a reconciliation between the two absolutely impossible. Europe was half laid waste as result of this war. Once flourishing cities were ruined and fertile districts had fallen back to forests. All Europe had taken part in the conflict and the nations were drained of their life-blood and wealth. Slowly and sullenly kings and priests realized the exhaustion of their resources and terminated the war by the Peace of Westphalia. Thus brought to an end the Thirty Years War. The attempt to restore the unity of the Church by the sword had failed. Luther and Pope Leo X had devided the church into two factions and the split was irreparable. The two sections into which Western Christianity was then split, have diverged farther with the years, neither trying to convert the other. In England in the year 1648, Puritanism was triumphant. Romanism was too weak in Britain to cause any alarm. In America, Protestantism stood firm since it appeared with the earliest settlers in this country. ¹"Just at this time in Puritan England, a new Reformer appeared, who challenged Protestantism in its stronghold, denounced the Reformed Churches as unsparingly as they denounced the Papacy, and proclaimed throughout the land, the return to the world of that primative and Spiritual Christianity." The precursor of the new Reformation, was George Fox. He was born in 1625,

1. "The Quakers" - F.S.Turner page 2.

and was twenty-three years old when the Westphalian Peace was signed. ¹"The firft I find that was thus immediately reached in his mind, was a young man called George Fox, born at Drayton in Leicefterfhire, in the month of July, from parents that were members of the publick church, or church of England."

His school education was limited and was insufficient to his needs. Very early in his life he manifested a serious disposition, oftentimes bordering on the melancholy. His pious mother, instead of luring and approving of his participation in the boyish enjoyments of the times, encouraged his precocity, and, as a consequence, he was never a boy in anything but years. He was honest to a fault. He would not resist an affront, but never flinched in times of trial. This man, the first of the Quakers, was one of those to whom, under ruder or purer form the Divine idea of the Universe is pleased to manifest itself, and across all the hulls of ignorance and earthly degradation shine through an unspeakable awfulness and with unspeakable beauty in their souls. At the age of nineteen and for the following three years, he experienced severe mental suffering that would have unseated and unbalanced a personage less vigorous. He withdrew from all companionships but was soon made miserable by the reflection that

1. History of the Quakers - Sewel page 10 & 11.

he had forsaken his relations.

Returning home, he spent much of his time in solitary meditation and prayer. The Bible was his favorite, and almost his only study. His condition often bordered on that of absolute despair. He consulted preachers and priests, and found them to be "like a hollow, empty cask." The outcome of this mental conflict was the conviction that the paramount object of human existence is to get a proper spiritual relation with the Creator.

The moral faculties are to be quickened, the law of Love must govern our relations with our fellow-men; but a spiritual oneness with the Deity attained, the rest would follow as naturally as light follows the rising of the sun. He learned that the Divine Law is written in the hearts of men and that to construe or interpret it correctly he must give heed to the voice of God written in his Soul. With this doctrine, to which he adhered very strongly, he started forth to preach to mankind.

Quakers of today are and have been for generations a quiet, religious sect, few in numbers, inoffensive and retiring: so far from zealous in obtruding their peculiar tenets upon public attention that there is perhaps hardly anyone outside of their fraternity who knows exactly what their creed is: but everyone knows and respects them as

a sober, wealthy, philanthropic society of non-conforming Christians, the friends of all, the enemies of none. Not of such a type was George Fox, the first and founder; but of a people of almost the opposite characteristics, a people numerous, notorious, aggressive, poor, persecuted, and of evil reputation.

In the eyes of their contemporaries the first Quakers were Sons of Satan, in disguise, disturbers of the churches, the spawn of the Devil, undermining the very foundations of the truth; the more to be hated and dreaded because they concealed diabolical designs under the garb of an outwardly strict and blameless morality. In their own eyes they were divinely raised up to complete the work of the Reformation and to restore the former, pure, primitive, spiritual Christianity.

The Quakers instead of keeping their principles and retiring with them into the quiet shade of their own secluded meetings, as do their descendants of the present day, were in their first generation, the universal disturbers of churches. They entered Cathedrals and Parish churches in the time of public worship, and contradicted the preachers in the name of the Lord. The proclaimed messages of these people reached from town to town, to the King in his palace, and to Parliament in session. Such actions on the part of

these men could not escape persecution and they seemed rather to invite persecution.

The Quakers would not flee and resigned themselves to these punishments and death rather than to change their creed. The prisons of England were filled to overflowing and great numbers perished. Their missionaries travelled to Holland, Germany, Denmark, Sweden and America. Everywhere they suffered persecutions.

The more their sect was persecuted the more they flourished. Before the death of their founder, their numbers, their piety, their energy and zeal encouraged them to predict the universal triumph of their principles.

The basis upon which Quakerism is founded is that of the Inner Light. This doctrine of the Inner Light was the corner stone upon which Fox built his religion. This was no new doctrine, nor did Fox or his associates lay any claim to a discovery. It was older than Christianity itself, but since the days of Jesus and his followers it had been a theory, subordinate to doctrines embodied in the creeds. Jesus, in substance, taught the same lesson, but the Christian church had forgotten it. Christ had come to be God and the Bible the only revealed word. ¹"Revelation in Scripture was to these Quakers, revelation indeed, but, wonderful as it was, it only indicated what man was capable

1. The Religious History of New England - Jones page 192.

of, and was thus a guarantee and a prophecy of the breaking forth of more light through the ages. Christ was for them God, personally revealed and in Him they reverently beheld the union of God and Man, but this triumphant fact of Galilee carried with it for them the immense implication that God and Man were of such a nature that they belonged together and that God could always and everywhere pour His Life into Man if man said yes and did his part towards companionship. Primarily this faith rested upon and grew out of experience and it was dynamic faith only so long as it was rooted and grounded in living experience of this mystical type." When this Revelation or the Word of the Bible was compared to the Inner Light they followed the word of God as it was manifest to them alone.

This Inner Light consisted of a deep belief in a living, present, near-at-hand, environing God, who has dealings now with the souls of men, and is carrying on in the world of today as He did of old in Galilee and Judea, His revealing and redemptive Work. God is inherently in nature and character a Person, who can come into intimate contact and relationship with men because He is the Immanuel God. The unbroken and continuous work of the Divine Spirit through the ages - even ages that were dark - is also possible and is also genuinely real, because God

is as essentially Loving as the mid-day sun is warm.

With this root idea was linked also an idea implied in it, namely, that man was somehow kindred with God and always and everywhere a recipient of His Divine Love. They knew that man was sadly damaged and strangely complicated with sinful tendencies, but they still maintained he was made for fellowship with God. That he bore in the innermost structure of his soul a point of junction with the Eternal and was always within Reach of Home and Father. If any soul lived in the dark, his darkness was self-brought on because the effulgence of the Divine Sunlight is Eternal and is never withdrawn. They did not anticipate the evolutionary view and were loyal to the story in Genesis.

Somehow God was here and somehow He was operating in the soul as an Unsaundered and Undefeated Presence.

¹"Where the Spirit of the Lord is, there is liberty, and liberty of conscience, liberty to think and to speak, not only found protection in a Quaker meeting, but zealous advocates and defenders wherever a Quaker voice was heard." The logic of this cardinal principle of Quakerism led straight to the repudiation of the authority of an ordained ministry, to the withdrawal from church membership, and the refusal to pay church tithes.

Intellectual training alone cannot fit men to be

1. The Quaker Invasion of Massachusetts - Hallowell page 16.

religious teachers. The Spirit of God must first illuminate their souls and sanctify their lives. The Puritans rebelled against the Prelacy, and held in special abhorrence the forms and ceremonies borrowed from Rome by the English Church.

Coming into power, they established their own church and compelled an unwilling people to conform to and support it. The Quakers probed deeper. They rebelled against Prelate and minister alike. They claimed not toleration but liberty of conscience for all as an undeniable right; they demanded the absolute separation of the Church and State; denounced the clergy as priests and hirelings, and in spite of fiendish persecutions refused to acknowledge their authority or contribute a penny to the maintenance of it.

With remarkable unanimity the early Quakers held many views of religious obligations which brought them into direct contact with the civil authorities and social usages. These views were known as "testimonies" and later when an organization was affected, they were incorporated into what is known as the Discipline of the Society. Church ordinances such as Baptism, Communion Table and Prayer-Books were condemned. They were opposed to music, ritual, indeed any form of ceremonial that is used today. Silent Meditation, interrupted only by a short prayer or

exhortation by one or more of them, who, were moved by the Spirit made up their only form of religious worship. One precept that was continually being impressed upon them was that they keep their meetings. At the appointed hour, in the appointed place, the Quakers used to gather together and there wait upon God. Whether words should be spoken or prayer uttered depended not upon their will but upon the Divine Spirit. There were meetings in which time after time, it might even be for months together, the little band of believers met and sat in an awful stillness, rose, and separated without having heard an audible voice. Doubtless the preachers were many but the chief thing was conduct not preaching.

It was their habit and custom to bring every part of their behavior to the test of the Inner Light, and to reject all which could not bear the pure celestial ray. They held meetings for worship, and were generally careful to abstain from all secular duties on the First Day of each week, though they did not exactly observe it as "Lord's Day." To them all days were alike in the holy sight of God. They declared that it was not lawful for Christians to kneel or prostrate themselves to any man, to bow the body, to uncover the head, or to use any titles of office in addressing people since that would constitute flattery.

That it is not lawful for Christians to use superfluities of apparel which is not useful since that would constitute vanity. That it is not lawful to use games, sports and plays, nor, among other things, comedies, in the sight of Christians. They forbid anything which came under the notion of recreation and so did not agree with the Christian virtues of silence, gravity and sobriety.

They considered war as an evil, "as opposite and contrary to the Spirit of Christ as is light to darkness," and they would not fight.

They laid particular emphasis upon the sanctity of marriage relations. This point often gives rise to considerable discussion since some people hold that the clergy is necessary in order to secure the sanction of the nuptial rites. The Quakers thought otherwise, contending that God alone can give Man and Woman in solemn covenant.¹ "It is their custom," says Sewel, "first having the consent of their parents or guardians and after due inquiry, all things appearing clear, they in a public meeting solemnly take each other in marriage, and with a promise of love and fidelity, and not to leave one another before death separates them. On this a certificate is drawn, mentioning the names and distinctions of the persons thus joined, which, being first signed by themselves, those then that are

1. History of the Quakers - Sewel Vol.2 page 777.

present, sign as witnesses."

If the great central doctrine and the originating impulse of Quakerism, "The Inner Light" is a delusion, what remains after that is of relatively small importance. To make a precise list of the particular sentiments of the society of Quakers is not easy because they are not of a fixed quantity. Some of the well known marks of the eighteenth century Quakers, the peculiar garb, singularity of speech, refusal to doff the hat, hostility to music, art and innocent recreations, have disappeared. Other peculiarities still generally maintained are already called into question, and are sometimes given up by individuals and sometimes by meetings; the exclusion of psalmody, and of reading of the Bible from public worship. In America some Quakers desire liberty to use the ordinances of Baptism and the Lord's Supper; but this innovation was stoutly resisted by the majority. For the Quaker, therefore, there was no priesthood, no sacraments, no liturgy, no hymn-book, not even a Bible in his meeting with God.

He will have no one appointed to preside. Christ is present and presides over the meeting. There is nothing but an assembly of human souls, gathered in the solemn stillness, in the immediate presence of the Deity, waiting until it shall please God to speak in and through one of

them, for the rest of the gathering. This is indeed a reverent spiritual worship; only fit to be contemplated in a reverent mood. Devoid of all external attractions, there is great attractiveness in its simplicity and spirituality. We see how it sweeps away at once the gravest blemishes, the grossest corruptions, which have been the scandal and disease of Christianity. The sacred function of the ministry cannot be entrusted to a professional class, engaged and paid to undertake at set times, with or without liturgy, a worship which is displeasing to Him, because it is not the fruit of His Own Inworking Spirit.

The influx of Quakers into America met with the same stern resistance that characterized their reception abroad. Everywhere they were looked upon as heretics whose very appearance would tend to ruin the existing government. This thought was due to the fact that there was a very close connection between the Church and State in Colonial times. A law was enacted by the General Court in Boston on the 14th of October, 1656, which read: ¹"Whereas there is a cursed sect of haereticks lately risen vp in the world, wch are commonly called Quakers, who take vppon them to be immediately sent of God and infallibly assisted by the Spirit to speake & write blasphemous oaths, despising gouernment & the order of God in Church & Commonwealth, speaking against the will of dignitjes,

1. Records of Massachusetts Bay Company in New England
Vol.3 page 415.

reproaching and revjling magistrates and ministers, seeking to turn people from the faith & gajne proseljtes to theire pernicious wajes, this Court taking into serious consideration the p'mises, and to prevent the like mischiefs as by theire means is wrought in our native land, doth hereby order, and by the authoritje of this Court be it ordered and enacted, that what master or commander of any ship, barke, pinnace, catch or of any vessel that shall henceforth bring into any harbor, creeke or coue within this jurisdiccon any knoune Quaker or Quakers, or any blasphemous haereticks as aforesaid, shall pay, or cawse to be pajd the fine of one hundred pounds to the Treasurer of the countrje." In spite of this decree the number of Quakers increased upon the shores of Massachusetts and at the same date October 14th, one year later, in the year 1657, the General Court again met in solemn conclave and passed the following law: ¹"And it is further ordered, that if any Quaker or Quakers shall presume, after they have once suffered what the lawe requireth, to come into this jurisdiccon, euery such male Quaker shall for the first offenc haue one of his eares cutt off, and be kept at work in the howse of correction, till he cann be sent away at his owne charge, and for the second offenc shall haue his other eare cutt off & be kept in the howse of correction, as aforesaid; and eury women Quaker that

1. Records of Massachusetts Bay Company in New England
Vol. 3 page 416.

hath suffered the lawe heere that shall presume to come into this jurisdiccon shall be severely whipped and kept in the howse of correction till she can be sent away at hir oune charge. And for eury Quaker, he or she, that shall a third tyme heerin againe offend, they shall have their tongues gored through with a hot iron and kept at the house of correction, close to work, till they be sent away at their oune charge."

Not less remarkable than the vehemence of their early zeal and the furious opposition it encountered, is the suddenness and completeness of its subsidence. Up to the end of the seventeenth century, they confidently foretold of the conversion of the world to the principles of Quakerism. In the eighteenth century the first traces of decay set in with the death of George Fox and when their message had been rejected by all the churches, the Quakers themselves unconsciously ceased to believe in it. There was no acknowledged change in doctrine nor in tactics, but practically they regarded themselves no longer as God's Prophets, commissioned to recall apostate Christendom back to primitive Christianity; and withdrew to nourish a separate spiritual life in their quiet, retired meetings. In the nineteenth century they found their movement paralyzed. Today they sadly calculate their probable date of extinction.

During the last few years an increase of activity has arrested and revived hope in some hearts. But the stirrings of new life are the result of the influence of modern evangelicalism, not a revival of the doctrines of George Fox. Already to the modern people, Quakerism seems to belong to a museum of religious antiquities, rather than to form a living part of the Church today.

Among the Quakers, it is a frequently expressed opinion that their decay as a denomination has been brought about by the general acceptance of their principles: an opinion not destitute of considerable plausibility. The more we study their original doctrines, the greater is our astonishment to observe in how true a sense and to how great a degree Quakerism was prophetic; advocating, generations in advance, reforms which are now accomplished facts, and other reforms the necessity of which begins to be perceived. Religious toleration, for which they were among the earliest and most consistent pleaders is now the accepted doctrine of civilized humanity. They were the first to insist upon truth of speech and fixity of price in trade, which is the established custom of traffic amongst us. The sturdy Quaker, refusing to doff his hat, to bow and genuflect, to address by title, nobleman, magistrate or monarch was the harbinger of the modern democratic spirit. In an age when fine gentleman arrayed themselves like peacocks, the Quaker

gentleman cut off the bows and buttons from his dress, and the Quaker tailor refused to make foppish attire, though oftentimes his refusal cost him his livelihood. The Quakers were the first temperance reformers and the earliest friends of the negro slaves. The Quakers befriended themselves with the American Indians from the outset, settling quietly in little hamlets, they led an undisturbed existence. As a result they escaped the vengeance and tortures of the Indians during their early and bitter wars against the white man.

From the very beginning they elevated woman to complete equality with man; they advocated, and for themselves obtained the abolition of oaths; they protested against war, calling it unchristian, and chose rather to die than to kill. Three centuries ago the Quakers emancipated themselves from the domination of the professional clergy and proved by experiment that the highest type of Christian life is possible without sermons and without ceremonies. All these particular features of Quakerism are parts and consequences of their conception of the source of Christianity itself.

The sect of the Quakers which were once so foully libelled and bitterly hated by their fellow men, and now have so sadly drifted away. Even in their decay, there is a quiet dignity and beauty. In the last century when Quakerism as a religious movement was on the verge of

extinction, the life that was in it reappeared in the form of philanthropy and in this character the sect has ever since taken the lead among churches. How this sect carried on in the face of such horrible persecutions will always be a marvel to students of religions. An example of this is in the "Life of George Fox" where Janney says: ¹"In the year 1662, being two years after the ascension of Charles the Second, there were in the prisons of England forty-two hundred of these called Quakers, who had been imprisoned for frequenting meetings, for refusing to swear, and for other breaches of their Christian testimony. They were cruelly beaten; neither age nor sex being regarded, but the most delicate women and men far advanced in years were treated with rude severity."

When they were driven or dragged from their meeting houses they assembled in the streets; and when the meeting houses were torn down, they met in the ruins, from whence they were driven only by personal violence. Many of their number died in prison and many more suffered long imprisonment only to resume their life of sacrifice and trial when they were released. They were courageous, aggressive, bold and unsparing in their denunciation of sin and sinners, but equally tender-hearted, loving and affectionate. Even women suffering the tortures of the lash could kneel and

1. Life of George Fox - Janney page 477.

ask God to forgive the wretched men who struck the blows. Quakerism in its social and moral aspect was the synonym for brotherly love, purity, simplicity, integrity and benevolence. The early Quakers not only advocated an enlightened revision of the criminal laws and a great number of reforms regarding the humane treatment of prisoners, which was then barbarous, but they even visited these prisons, and sought out and aided the poor, the friendless and the outcasts of society. One of the principles of their belief forbade bearing any malice against their oppressors and the lifting of their hands to strike back in retaliation. Men and women alike went to their death with a peaceful smile upon their faces and their lips murmuring prayers for the forgiveness of their persecutors. They literally loved both friend and foe. Probably there is not one person in a thousand who could give an account of Quaker tenets; and not one person in a thousand who is ignorant of the fact that the Quakers have been the friends and benefactors of the human race since the time of George Fox.

THE INFLUENCE OF QUAKERISM AS EVIDENCED BY WHITTIER'S
RELIGIOUS POEMS.

Poetry is the common man's text-book on religion. If we could analyze the religious consciousness of men, we might find that as many religious ideas come from the poets as from the Bible. Poetry has also been one of the greatest forces in binding the religious world together. Men will differ on creeds and catechisms, they will fight over dogmas, but through the words of the poet they will come together. The Protestant can use the hymn of the Catholic, the Orthodox, the hymn of the Unitarian, and the Calvinist and Arminian in song are united. The poet goes beneath the form and symbol and expresses that which is eternal and unchanging. The poet does not analyze. When he begins to pry objects to pieces he loses his charm. He tells us what he sees in his visions and leaves us with this vision. The poet is the divinely ordained teacher who harmonizes the material and the spiritual; who furnishes the link between the seen and the unseen, who lifts the real into the realm of the ideal, and makes the ideal clearer by clothing it with the substance of the real. It is therefore, always helpful to study religion through the songs of the poet.

¹"The religious element in Whittier's poems is something vital and inseparable. The supremacy of moral ideas is incul-

cated by almost all great poets and at no time more than in the days of Whittier. And in that modern verse the filial relation of man to his Creator, and the Immanence of the Spirit in the human heart, are at least, tacitly recognized. The leading poets of America are, one and all, reverent in feeling and tone. But it is quite evident that Whittier alone is religious in a high and inward sense. The reader's attention is called to regard "The Eternal Goodness" and poems of a similar holy strain." We see that in such verses there is not simply the decorous homage of the lips, but the strong feeling of communion with God, deep as the sources of being, lasting forever. These are utterances which no art can simulate, which carry irresistible conviction and are morally classic in their sphere. Whatever gifts and graces belong by right to Whittier, it is by his expression of religious ideas that he holds the place of honor. The idea of God is never associated in his poems with images of terror; it is the God of Love, the Eternal goodness that he adores. Nor is there any hint contained of theological dogmas or of stated observances, it is the idea of right living and holy thinking without the hedges of human codes, - of actual personal communion without the rigid forms of words.

The moral in Whittier predominates over the aesthetic, the reformer over the artist. His creed is: "I am a man,

and I feel that I am above all else, a man." What is the great central element in our poet's character if it is not the deep, never-smouldering moral fervor, that unquenchable love of freedom that-

"Hate of tyranny intense
And hearty in its vehemence."

which, mixed with the beauty and melody of his soul, gives to his pages a delicate glow as of gold-hot iron; which crowns him as the Laureate of Freedom in his day, and imparts to his utterances the manly ring of the prose of Milton and the poetry of Whitman, - both poets of Freedom like himself? And what is love of Freedom but Democracy? And what is Democracy but the rallying-cry of the age, the one word of the present, the one word of the future, the word of all words, and the white, beacon-light of modern life. Democracy produced George Fox; George Fox produced Quakerism; Quakerism produced Whittier; Whittier helped to destroy slavery. He could not help doing so, for with slavery both Democracy and Quakerism are incompatible. Whittier fought slavery as a Quaker, he has lived as a Quaker; he has never fully emancipated himself from the shackles of the sect. To understand him therefore, we must understand his religion.

Whittier's idea of the Bible must be understood in connection with his thought of the Inner Light. As is evident from his writings, no poet has known his Bible better or was

more influenced by it. Miss Gertrude Cartland of Dover, New Hampshire, a niece of John Greenleaf Whittier, has written a book entitled "Text and Verse for Every Day in the Year" which has been selected from the writings of John Greenleaf Whittier. This author says: ¹"Those who are familiar with the writings of John Greenleaf Whittier must have noticed the frequency of his Biblical allusions, and the devotional spirit that breathes through his lines." This book contains three hundred and sixty-five passages selected from the Bible and the passages in Whittier which correspond to them. The poet's own words in his poem "Miriam" tells how much he valued the Sacred Book:

²"We search the world for truth; we cull
The good, the pure, the beautiful,
From graven stone and written scroll,
From all old flower-fields of the soul;

And weary seekers of the best,
We come back laden from our quest
To find that all the sages said,
Is in the Book our mothers read."

But while Whittier valued the Scriptures so much, they were not for him "the rule of faith and practice." That was the indwelling omnipresence of God. The Scriptures were subordinate and secondary to this indwelling Spirit. Indeed the Scriptures can be understood by mortal men only when they are interpreted by the Divine Spirit.

"Only when on form and word obscure
Falls from above the white supernal light,

1. Text and Verse for Every Day in the Year - Cartland page 1.
2. Household Edition of Whittier's Poems - page 341.

We read the mystic characters aright,
 And life informs the silent portraiture,
 Until at last were held, before
 The One Ineffable Face, love, wonder, and adore."

He believed in the Scriptures because he found in them the Eternal Precepts of the Divine Spirit, declared and repeated, to which our consciences bear witness. They testified that Christ was within him. The Scriptures repeated to him the warnings and admonitions also the promises of the Indwelling Light and Truth. Thus Whittier writes:

"I pray for Faith, I long to trust;
 I listen to my heart and hear
 A Voice without a sound: 'Be just
 Be true, be merciful, revere
 The Word within that: God is near.'"

¹"Whittier never tires of emphasizing the presence and immanence of Christ in the lives of men. Some of the names which Whittier applied to Christ give a key to the inspiration of his thought. He calls Him, 'Christ of God, the Holy One,' 'The Lowly and the Just,' 'Loved of the Father,' 'Immortal Love,' 'Light Divine' and 'Healer.'" From these titles, which Whittier is constantly applying to Christ, we may gather this poet's conception of the nature and work of the Heavenly Master. The Christ of history is gone. He shall return no more in the flesh. In vain through the centuries men have looked for His Return upon the Clouds of Glory.

"The Spirit over-brooding all
 Eternal love remains.

1. The Mind of Whittier - Hawkins page 41.

In joy of inward peace or sense,
 Of sorrow over sin,
 He is His Own best evidence,
 His witness within.

No fable old nor myth's lore,
 Nor dreams of bards and seers,
 No dead fact stranded on the shore
 Of the oblivious years;-

But warm, sweet, tender even yet
 A present help is He;
 And faith still has its Olivet,
 And love its Galilee."

The presence of Christ in our humanity is evident from
 Whittier's poem: "The Meeting,"

¹"That the dear Christ dwells not afar,
 The King of some remoter star,
 Listening, at times, with flattered ear
 To homage wrung from selfish fear.

But here amidst the poor and blind,
 The bound and suffering of our kind,
 In works we do, in prayers we pray,
 Life of our Life, He lives today."

Christ is such a One that still men may commune with Him:

"Yet Loved of the Father, Thy Spirit is near
 To the meek, and the lowly, and penitent here;
 And the Voice of Thy Love is the same even now
 As at Bethany's tomb or on Olivet's brow."

Christ is the ultimate standard by which we must test
 our lives. As there are few great pictures by which we approve
 or condemn all other works of the painter's brush, a few great
 poems by which the worth of all poetry is judged, so Christ
 is the Divine Ideal by which all lives must be measured:

"Thou judgest us, Thy Purity,
 Doth all our lusts condemn;

1. Household Edition of Whittier's Poems - page 334.

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The Love that draws us nearer Thee
Is Hot with wrath to them.

Our thoughts lie open to Thy Sight;
And, naked to Thy Glance
Our secret sins are in the light
Of Thy Pure Countenance."

Whittier looked upon Christ as the Savior and Healer of all mankind. It is only Christ who can save men from the pitfalls of the surrounding world. Whittier looks over the nations of the world and sees men kneeling and trembling at altars of stone trying to appease God by the sprinkling of blood. Such worship is only the faithlessness of fear. It rises from a picture which man paints of a God of Torment. This is pictured vividly in Whittier's poem "The Over-Heart"

¹"Fade pomp of dreadful imagery
Wherewith mankind have deified,
Their hate, and selfishness, and pride!
Let the scared dreamer wake to see
The Christ of Nazareth at his side."

When this worship which has been inspired through the medium of fear shall disappear, then shall come in its place the true worship. Humanity will learn to look at Christ as the Beautiful and Good;

"It yet shall touch His Garment's fold,
And feel the Heavenly Alchemist,
Transform its very dust to gold."

Whittier was a Quaker and the Quakers are mystics. They stand opposed to rationalists. They deprecate all formal expression of religion, such as creed and ritual, and exalt

1. Household Edition of Whittier's Poems - page 237.

the inner and spiritual side of the religious life. The distinctive characteristic of Quakerism is the entire rejection of all ceremonial, the total disbelief of the power of the Pope, priest, or elder to give ransom for the soul of another. It is the opinion and the hope of the Quakers, voiced through the poetry of Whittier that the time will come when the world will be weary and disgusted with shams and shadows, and Love will take the place of long prayers, fasting, penance and heathenish sacrifices; altar, church, priest and ritual will pass on but the human heart will be the Holy of Holies and there alone will the worship be performed. This worship will not be performed in set forms or on designated occasions but will be performed daily and hourly in the heart of man. A worship that is not embellished by altar, candle or loud-speaking dogmatist, but rather by meek and humble men. Whittier's God is not pleased with an outward show of pomp or ceremonial but is gratified by mercy, kindness, and good works. Not the Divine Life as expressed through forms and institutions, but as expressed in human lives; the Divine Spirit bearing witness in human souls is the starting point of their faith.

One of the best illustrations to make this truth of the Inner Light intelligible is the relation of the soul to the body. The life is immanent in every part of the physical

frame. It is more than the body. It transcends the body, rules it, and shall continue to do so even when the body returns to dust.. Yet the soul does not rule over the body, but in it. So, God rules not over the world but in it; not over men but enshrined in the hearts of men. He is more than the world. He transcends the material world and man, yet He is in all men and things. This point is best illustrated in Whittier's poem, "Barclay of Ury." Though this poem is a striking example of Whittier's opposition to persecution, it has truly a lofty religious element contained in it.

¹"Happy he whose inward ear
 Angel comfortings can hear,
 O'er the rabble's laughter;
 And while Hatred's fagots burn,
 Glimpses through the smoke discern
 Of the good hereafter."

Also the same thought is exemplified in the poem, "What the Voice Said,"

²"Thou, the patient Heaven upbraiding,"
 Spake a solemn Voice within;
 "Weary of our Lord's forbearance,
 Art thou free from sin?"

Fearless brow to Him uplifting,
 Canst thou for his thunders call,
 Knowing that to guilt's attraction
 Evermore they fall?"

THE NATURE OF THE INNER LIGHT

The nature of the Inner Light is the Eternal Goodness.

1. Household Edition of Whittier's Poems - page 121.
2. Household Edition of Whittier's Poems - page 122.

With the above title, "The Eternal Goodness," Whittier composed one of his most outstanding religious poems. In the first four stanzas, the poet recalls how his fellow-men have argued about God and held to their "iron creeds." Also he talks of the various undertakings of his fellow-men and sums up with:

"The Lord is God! He needeth not-
The poor device of man."

His fellow-men sometimes question the justice of God in His actions towards men while the poet does nothing but beg of God's Love. The poet sees the evil that is in the world and the sufferings that are being levied upon human beings. Above all he knows one thing, that God is Good, and with this he concludes nearly every stanza in this poem.

¹"Yet in the maddening maze of things,
And tossed by storm and flood,
To one fixed trust my spirit clings;
I know that God is Good."

The attempt to harmonize the facts of evil and human suffering with the Goodness and Love of God has been and still is one of the greatest problems of Christian thought. But the optimistic faith of Whittier had no difficulty in harmonizing the two thoughts. He saw the wrong that existed about him and the groans and cries of the afflicted, yet he still held firmly to his doctrine.

1. Household Edition of Whittier's Poems - page 318.

"The wrong that pains my soul below
 I dare not throne above:
 I know not of His hate, - I know
 His goodness and His love."

Whittier has great faith in the ultimate triumph of Eternal Goodness. He feels that God is letting the afflicted suffer only in the thought that it will help them attain a greater good.

"And so beside the Silent Sea
 I wait the muffled oar;
 No harm from Him can come to me
 On ocean or on shore."

This same thought is again evidenced in his poem "Revelation" when he wrote:

¹"I know He is, and what He is
 Whose one great purpose is the Good,
 Of all, I rest my soul on His
 Immortal Love and Fatherhood;
 And trust Him, as His children should."

²"In the early part of his life Whittier was surrounded by a Calvinistic conception of God, and he rebelled against it. We find his Calvinistic thought expressed in his poem, 'The Minister's Daughter.'"

In this poem he tells of a minister who in his morning sermon spoke of the fall, and how henceforth the wrath of God rested on every soul, and of how all men save a chosen few were doomed to the eternal loss of Heaven.

³"In the minister's morning sermon
 He had told of the primal fall,

1. Household Edition of Whittier's Poems - page 451.
2. The Mind of Whittier - Hawkins page 28.
3. Household Edition of Whittier's Poems - page 430.

And how thenceforth the wrath of God
 Rested on each and all."

In the afternoon the minister went for a walk with his daughter. It was springtime, when the apple trees were in blossom and the meadows were fresh and green.

"Sweet in the fresh green meadows
 Sparrow and blackbird sung;
 Above him their tinted petals
 The blossoming orchards hung."

The minister beheld all this manifestations of beauty with wonder and spoke to his daughter:

"How good is the Lord who gives us
 These gifts from His hands, my child!"

To which the child replied:

"Oh father! these pretty blossoms
 Are very wicked, I think,

Had there been no Garden of Eden
 There never had been a fall;
 And if never a tree had blossomed
 God would have loved us all,"

The minister rebukes his child:

"By His decree man fell:"

Therefore whatever misfortune comes to us or whatever pain, we must bear we should be joyful.

"Joy or pain, or light or shadow,
 We must fear and love Him still."

"O, I fear Him," said the daughter,
 "And I try to love Him too;
 But I wish He was good and gentle,
 Kind and loving as you."

From these words of his little daughter and from the visible beauty of nature, the minister also learned the lesson of love, and after this his doctrine was:

"The dread Ineffable Glory
Was the Infinite Goodness alone."

"Thereafter his hearers noted
In his prayers a tenderer strain,
And never the gospel of hatred
Burned on his lips again."

Whittier depended not on historical revelation, nor theology, nor creed for a proof of the existence of the Divine Being. He knew God in his experience and found the Divine Nature to be like the best in his own nature. The minister in "The Minister's Daughter" found the true character of God not in creed nor in book; for in following these he had erred. It was through the words of his daughter that he learned his lesson and understood more perfectly the Divine Nature of his poem "The Friend's Burial" when he says:

"The dear Lord's best interpreters
Are humble human souls;
The Gospel of a life like hers
Is more than books or scrolls."

Whittier held to the idea of the Inner Light not only in theory but also in practice. ¹"Once give him the conviction that he was being led by the Inner Light, nothing could turn him aside." Therefore, when he once decided to do a thing and was convinced that the Spirit was guiding him, nothing could turn him away from it. To him,

1. Testimony of Mrs. Phoebe Caliga Grantham.

"The one unpardonable sin
Is to deny the Word of God within."

The ultimate authority in religion is the experience of God in the human soul. This is the conclusion of his poem, "Questions of Life." It is noticeable in the first part of his poem, that he is repeating the age-old doctrine of Decrates.

¹"I am: how little more I know!
Whence come I? Whither do I go?
A centered self, which feels and is;
A cry between the silences.

Which shapes in earth the darkling spar,
An orbs in heaven the morning star.
Of all I see, in earth and sky, --
Star, flower, beast, bird, - what part have I?

When Spring makes green her native dells?
How feels the stone the pang of birth,
Which brings its sparkling prism forth?
The forest-tree the throb which gives
The life-blood to its new-born leaves?
Do bird and blossom feel, like me,
Life's many-folded mystery, -
The wonder which it is TO BE?"

In the first few lines of the poem we find the poet returning to the primal sanities of the soul echoing the questions, Whence came I? Whither do I go? What place has man in this vast universe that is surrounding him? Is he an integral part of this universal life, which mounts the sap from the forest roots and makes green the vative dells, which gives life blood to the new born leaves and breathes in the wild bird's song? Or has man a separate consciousness of his own?

"I turn from Nature unto men,
I ask the styles and the pen;

1. Household Edition of Whittier's Poems - page 157.

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What sang the bards of old? What meant
 The prophets of the Orient?
 The rolls of buried Egypt hid
 In painted tomb and pyramid?
 What mean Idumea's arrowy lines,
 Or dusk Elora's monstrous signs?
 How speaks the primal thoughts of man
 From the grim cravings of Copan?
 Where rests the secret? Where the keys?
 Of the old death-bolted mysteries?

The Sphinx does not solve the question. If we turn to
 nature she mocks us in our eager search. If we turn to the
 prophets of the Orient or consult the rolls which are buried
 with the mummies in the painted tombs and pyramids of Egypt,
 the answers still remain a mystery to us.

"I know what Indean Kreesna saith,
 And what of life and what of death
 The demon taught to Socrates;
 And what, beneath his garden trees
 Slow pacing, with a dream-like tread,
 The solemn-thoughted Plato said."

Here we see that he is familiar with the teachings of
 Indian lore, yet is unable to gain any explanation that will
 suffice. We know what Socrates concerning life and death,
 what the solemn-thoughted Plato said, we read the scroll of
 Hebrew bard and seer, but the truth is never apparent. We
 seek from all these outward sources for an answer, but it is
 never found. Finally we find a clue, groping blindly.

"To Him, from wanderings long and wild,
 I come, and over-wearied child,
 In cool and shade his peace to find,
 Like dew-fall settling on my mind.
 Assured that all I know is best,
 And humbly trusting for the rest."

Again in the poem, "My Soul and I," Whittier voices the same questions which were evident in the poem, "Questions of Life." It becomes apparent after reading the first part of each of these poems that Whittier does not exactly know what is the purpose of his soul on the earth:

"Stand still, my soul, in the silent dark
I would question thee,
Alone in the shadow drear and stark
With God and with me!

What, my soul, was thy errand here?
Was it mirth or ease,
Or heaping up dust from year to year?
Nay, none of these."

He continues this lengthy poem through many stanzas always questioning, finally summing up the poem with the verse:

"All which is real now remaineth,
And fadeth never:
The hand which upholds it now sustaineth
The soul forever."

OPPOSITION TO LITURGY AND MUSIC

¹Hallowell says: "The meeting houses of the Quakers were very simple in design, there being neither bell to call the people to worship or organ to stir their souls." At these meeting-houses, there were no powerful-voiced speakers to shout at them in thundering accents in order to prevail upon their wills. There was no altar at the meeting-houses or pulpit from which the preacher addressed the congregation. The following stanzas from "The Meeting", expresses Whittier's belief regarding these facts.

1. The Pioneer Quakers. - Hallowell, page 47.

The first of the two main parts of the paper is devoted to a study of the properties of the function $f(x)$ defined by the equation $f(x) = \sum_{n=0}^{\infty} a_n x^n$, where a_n are the coefficients of the power series. The second part is devoted to a study of the properties of the function $g(x)$ defined by the equation $g(x) = \sum_{n=0}^{\infty} b_n x^n$, where b_n are the coefficients of the power series.

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¹"I ask no organ's soulless breath
 To drone the themes of life and death,
 No altar candle-lit by day,
 No ornate wordsman's rhetoric play,
 No cool philosophy to teach
 To double-tasked idolators
 Themselves their gods and worshippers,
 No pulpit hammered by the fist
 Of loud-asserting dogmatist,
 Who borrows from the hand of love
 The smoking thunderbolts of Jove.

Where farmer-folk in silence meet,-
 I turn my bell-unsummoned feet;
 I lay the critic's glass aside,
 I tread upon my lettered pride,
 And, lowest-seated, testify
 To the oneness of humanity;
 Confess the universal want,
 And share whatever Heaven may grant."

The revolt against all forms of ritual is a topic which Whittier voices at every opportunity possible. This is due to the influence of the Inner Light, which he believes can descend into a man's soul without any exterior manifestations. This becomes clear in the poem "Worship."

²"As if the pomp of rituals and the savor
 Of gums and spices could the Unseen One please:
 As if his ear could bend, with childish favor,
 To the poor flattery of the organ keys!

He asks no taper lights, or high surrounding
 The priestly altar and the saintly grave,
 No dolorous chant nor organ music sounding,
 Nor incense clouding up the twilight nave."

Rather man's worship towards God should be:

"O brother man! fold to thy heart thy brother;
 Where pity dwells, the peace of God is there;
 To worship rightly is to love each other,
 Each smile a hymn, each kindly deed a prayer.

1. Household Edition of Whittier's Poems - page 334.
2. Household Edition of Whittier's Poems - page 123.

Follow with reverent steps the great example
 Of Him whose holy work was 'doing good;'
 So shall the wide earth seem our Father's temple,
 Each loving life a psalm of gratitude."

The same thought is again found in the poem, "Our Master,"
 where the poet says:

¹"He serves the best who loveth most
 His brothers and thy own,
 Thy litanies, sweet offices
 Of love and gratitude."

The greatest good that is possible to attain is only
 gained by love and service. In his poem, "The Over-Heart,"
 he writes:

²"O hearts of love! O souls that turn
 Like sunflowers to the pure and best!
 To you the truth is manifest:
 For they the mind of Christ discern
 Who lean like John upon his breast!

What doth that holy Guide require?--
 No rite of pain, nor gift of blood,
 But man a kindly brotherhood,
 Looking, where duty is desire,
 To him, the beautiful and good."

Bearing in mind that Whittier was against all forms of
 ritual, we have an ideal picture of the poet in worship in
 his poem, "First-Day Thoughts." Here is a Quaker meeting-
 house simple in design, where "never a hymn is sung, nor deep-
 toned organ blown."

"In the calm and cool and silence, once again
 I find my old accustomed place among
 My brethren, where, perchance, no human tongue
 Shall utter words; where never a hymn is sung,
 Nor deep-toned organ blown, nor censer swung,
 Nor dim light falling through the pictured pane."

1. Household Edition of Whittier's Poems - page 319.
2. Household Edition of Whittier's Poems - page 237.

Here amidst the simplest of surroundings the poet has come to worship. Here to listen to the Voice that will speak to him.

"There by silence let me hear
The still small voice which reached the
 prophet's ear;
Read in my heart a still diviner law
Than Israel's leader on his tables saw."

Constantly the poet was dwelling upon this thought of the "Immanence of the Holy Spirit." He used many words to express the thought, such as, - "The still, small voice," "the inward word," "the Spirit of Christ," "the Spirit of God," but everywhere he means the same thing, the Divine Spirit in communion with the human soul. He makes no distinction between the spiritual presence of God, of Christ, and of the Holy Spirit. These are only different expressions for the same Eternal God.

Whittier's revolt against all form and ritual is continued in the poem, "The Vision of Echard." Here also in this poem is expressed his great faith in the power of the living Christ:

"Ye bow to ghastly symbols,
To cross and scourge and thorn;
Ye seek his Syrian manger
Who in the heart is born.

For the dead Christ, not the living,
Ye watch his empty grave
Whose life alone within you
Has power to bless and save.

O blind ones, outward groping,
The idle quest forego;
Who listens to his inward voice
Alone of him shall know.

A light, a guide, a warning,
 A presence ever near,
 Through the deep silence of the flesh
 Will reach the inward ear.

The stern behest of duty,
 The doom-book open thrown,
 The heaven ye seek, the hell ye fear,
 Are with yourselves alone."

The poem, "The Friend's Burial," again takes up the strain of Whittier's opposition to ritual when he writes:

"Here organ swell and church-bell toll
 Methinks but discord were,-
 The prayerful silence of the soul
 Is best befitting her.

No sound should break the quietude
 Alike of Earth and Sky;-
 O wandering wind in Seabrook wood,
 Breathe but a half-heard sigh!"

In the foregoing poem, "The Vision of Echard," there is another very noticeable point brought out, which is one of the most evident characteristics of the Quaker sect. This is their opposition to heresy trials. ¹"Our Puritan fathers made the mistake of regarding man chiefly as an intellectual being, and religion as a philosophical system of thought, to which men must give their assent to obtain salvation. They forgot that man had affections, imagination, and a free will, and that he gained more knowledge through these faculties of his soul than through his logical reason. They could not conceive of religion as a life, but only as a dogma which was to gain the assent of man's intellect. To dissent, therefore, from the

1. The Mind of Whittier - Hawkins page 75.

accepted theological dogmas was heresy, and heresy was one of the greatest of human sins. It was indeed very Anti-Christ, because, it shook the foundations of man's hope in Eternal Life." Whittier had a larger conception of the nature of religion than had the Puritan. Religion is a life to be lived rather than a dogma to be believed. Love is greater than knowledge, therefore it is more Christ-like to bear with the heretic than to prosecute him. In "The Vision of Echard" he makes God say:

"I loath your wrangling councils,
I tread upon your creeds;
Who made ye mine avengers,
Or told ye of my needs?"

I bless men and ye curse them,
I love them and ye hate;
Ye bite and tear each other,
I suffer long and wait."

Whittier in order to impress the point that, heretics should be treated with love rather than be scorned and persecuted by the public, wrote a very inspiring verse the title of which is, "By Their Works."

"Call him not heretic whose words attest
His faith in goodness by no creed confessed.
Whatever in love's name is truly done
To free the bound and lift the fallen one
Is done to Christ. Whoso in deed and word
Is not against Him labors for our Lord.
When He, who, sad and weary, longing sore
For love's sweet service, sought the sister's door,
One saw the heavenly, one the human quest,
But who shall say who served the Master best?"

In the poem, "The Cities of the Plain," we find Whittier in the guise of a preacher, cautioning us lest we

reach for too much and lose all. First he gives us a picture of the ancient city of Sodom.

"All gay was the banquet; the revel was long
With the pouring of wine and the breathing of song."

He then continues to describe how it was a beautiful summer evening with comely maidens moving in the graceful dance. Next he paints a picture of the temple, and what practices are taking place there.

"Where the shrines of foul idols were lighted
on high,
And wantonness tempted the lust of the eye;
Midst rites of obscenity, strange, loathsome,
abhorred,
The blasphemer scoffed at the name of the Lord."

Suddenly there came from the earth a growl of thunder, the sky opened and the air was filled with flames. Destruction is everywhere on the city that was once the pride of the plain.

"The foot of the dancer, the music's loved thrill,
And the shout and the laughter grew suddenly still.
The last groan of horror rose wildly and vain,
And death brooded over the Pride of the Plain."

WHITTIER'S IDEA OF GOD

¹"The great truth of the immanence of God permeates all of his work. The teaching of the Early Church, which had almost disappeared during long centuries from Christian consciousness, and with which we have become so familiar of late, owes its origin to George Fox and the Quakers, in whose Spirit Whittier has always lived and taught. They were the upholders of

1. The Spiritual Influence of John Greenleaf Whittier -
Rev. Julius Atwood - page 16.

liberal theology in the seventeenth century. It was they, who in that age emphasized the life of the Spirit in the world, who strong in their witness to the Inner Light, stood out against the hard dogmatism of the Christians. Of God's love he was full and many a weary soul has blessed him for the larger hope that he has presented. Everywhere must the love of God reach. No man ever had a deeper sense of sin, whether it was his own sin or the sins of others. His own pure heart shrank back in horror from the degradation of vice. If we seek for the religious teachings of Whittier in his writings, we shall find them simple, clear and definite. He was a prophet looking into the future and yet he was the product of his age. He gave the expression to the thought and consciousness of the century in which he lived." Whittier, with all his keen interest in the present, was looking with reverent curiosity into the future. His faith and creed were summed up in the oft-quoted words of "The Eternal Goodness."

"I know not where His islands lift
 Their fronded palms in air;
 I only know I cannot drift
 Beyond His love and care."

He was a man at unity with God, his brother, and himself. The poetry of this man was a reflection of his benevolence and spiritual strength, the intellectual power and the plain, homely ruggedness of character suggested there.

We have great faith and trust in our Heavenly Father, but at times there are questions which come to each of us, questions

which seem difficult to answer. We find great relief and satisfaction in the words of God. The verses of Whittier seem to express our own feelings so well in regard to these queries.

"I have no answer for myself or thee,
Save that I learned beside my mother's knee;
'All is of God that is, and is to be;
And God is good.' Let this suffice us still,
Resting in childlike trust upon his will
Who moves to his great ends unthwarted by the ill."

For a poem that is a remarkable example of an Invocation to our Heavenly Father; see how much is comprehended in the following selection from "The Prayer Seeker:"

"He prayeth best who leaves unguessed
The mystery of another's breast.
Why cheeks grow pale, why eyes o'er flow,
Or heads are white, thou need'st not know.
Enough to note by many a sign
That every heart hath needs like thine.
Pray for us!"

Again let us hear how the poet has sung about forgiveness; that quality which we all need to have; and also notice how in expressing, perhaps his own feelings, he is also expressing the experience and feelings of other toilers like himself along life's pathway.

"My heart was heavy for its trust had been
Abused, its kindness answered with foul wrong;
So, turning gloomily from my fellow men,
One summer Sabbath day I strolled among
The green mounds of the village burial place;
Where, pondering how all human love and hate
Find one sad level; and how, soon or late
Wronged and wrongdoer, each with meekened face,
And cold hands folded over a still heart
Pass the green threshold of our common grave,
Whither all footsteps tend, whence none depart,

The first of these is the fact that the
economy is not in a state of equilibrium.
The second is the fact that the economy is not in a state of equilibrium.

The third is the fact that the economy is not in a state of equilibrium.
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The twenty-third is the fact that the economy is not in a state of equilibrium.

The twenty-fourth is the fact that the economy is not in a state of equilibrium.
The twenty-fifth is the fact that the economy is not in a state of equilibrium.

Awed for myself and pitying my race,
 Our common sorrow, like a mighty wave
 Swept all my pride away, and trembling I forgave."

Let us now consider the punishments of God inflicted upon his children, for that they sin and need and receive punishment we all know, but Whittier desires to show that although the Good Father punishes his children, yet that penalty he does not afflict willingly, but only for his child's ultimate good; intending the punishment to be remedial in its results.

"Thank God that I have lived to see the time,
 When the great truth begins at last to find
 An utterance, from the deep heart of mankind,
 Earnest and clear, that all revenge is crime,
 That man is holier than a creed, - that all
 Restraint upon him must consult his good."

Again he desires and does show that one need not despair in doing the right, or the right as God gives him to see it; to all those who are in any way trying to uplift humanity, to destroy sin and vice and to bring in righteousness, he sings for them, that they may not fall by the way discouraged, but having put their hands to the plough they must not turn back, despite the ridicule and censure of the world.

"What is it that the crowd require
 Thy love with hate, thy truth with lies?

Yet do thy work; it shall succeed
 In thine or in another's day;
 And, if denied the victor's meed,
 Thou shall not lack the toiler's pay."

Whittier, in one of his poems, shows the absolute trust which he has placed in God; also the blessings which attend

this perfect trust.

"Our times are in God's hands, and all our days
Are as our needs: for shadow as for sun,
For cold as heat, for want as wealth, alike
Our thanks are due, since that is best which is;
And that which is not, sharing not his life,
Is evil only as devoid of good."

The poet's trust in the Over-Soul is frequently uttered, although at times there seems to be a wavering in the tones. When he is on the mountain-top he is serene and then we find him unmoved in his profound conviction. Again in the poem, "The Grave by the Lake," after giving us an exquisite picture of lake and sky mingled with philosophy and musings, he breaks forth, much as did the elder prophets, speaking with authority of one who is moved by an inner voice:

"Hear'st thou, O of little faith,
What to thee the mountain saith
What is whispered by the trees?—
Cast on God thy care for these,
Trust Him if thy sight be dim,
Doubt of them is doubly of Him.

Not with hatred's undertow
Doth the Love Eternal flow
Every chain that spirits wear,
Crumbles in the breath of prayer.
Opens every gate of fire
And the penitent's desire."

WHITTIER'S MYSTICISM

Since the fundamental supposition of Quakerism is "The Inner Light" it necessarily follows that all Quakers are mystics.

This mysticism is manifest very rarely in Whittier's poems, though it is brought out very clearly on three different

occasions. After contrasting the three poems, which contain his mystic qualities, with those of his other works, it appears as if he were wise in disregarding the use of the mystical element in his poetry. The first of the type is called, "A Mystery."

"A presence, strange at once and known,
Walked with me as my guide;
The skirts of some forgotten life
Trailed noiseless at my side.

Was it a dim-remembered dream?
Or glimpse through aeons old?
The secret which the mountain kept,
The river never told."

The second poem in which this mysticism is manifest is called, "In Quest."

"Have I not voyaged, friend beloved, with thee
On the great waters of the unsounded sea,
Momently listening with suspended oar
For the low beat of waves upon a shore
Changeless as heaven, where never fog-cloud drifts
Over its windless woods, nor mirage lifts
The steadfast hills."

Whittier's mysticism is also noticeable to a marked degree in the poem "Brother of Mercy," where he writes:

"Unseen, in square and blossoming garden drifted,
Soft sunset lights through green Val d'Arno sifted;
Unheard, below the living shuttles shifted
Backward and forth, and wove, in love or strife,
In mirth or pain, the mottled web of life."

WHITTIER'S OPTIMISM

¹"The true poet must be an optimist, and live in an atmosphere of faith. The human soul craves future continuance

1. John Greenleaf Whittier - William L. Garrison page 26 - 27.

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and progress and inspiration fails him who has only forebodings of disappointment and evil. What spur exists to sing of death and darkness, without the trust and hope that look beyond the mists and gloom of the present? The poet must voice the aspirations of souls who decline to rest in the narrow confines of human vision. Mankind listens to him for the message from the farthest regions of the Universe. He stands on a high mountain and is presumed to catch the sunlight when the valley is still in shadow. His office is to bring human lives the joys, glories and veracities which come to him in visions. More than the preacher, he delivers glad tidings to the world, because poetry is the most perfect form in which to embody and preserve the truth. The poet of despair has few listeners."

¹"No poet of modern time held more optimism for mankind as a whole than did John Greenleaf Whittier." Mankind, he contended, had been on a low plane, but was laboriously raising himself upward toward the arms of Almighty God. The very keynote of his inspired conviction was sounded in "The Chapel of the Hermits" where he writes:

"Yet, sometimes glimpses on my sight
Through present wrong, the Eternal Light
And step by step since time began,
I see the steady gain of man;

That all of good the past hath had
Remains to make our own time glad,-
Our common daily life divine,
And every land a Palestine."

1. Whittier: Poet, Seer and Man - B. O. Flowers page 115.

The same optimistic thoughts of Whittier are again evident in the poem, "The Voices," where he says:

"The world is God's, not thine; let him
Work out a change, if change must be:
The hand that planted best can trim
And nurse the old unfruitful tree."

Whittier's optimism is evident again in the last stanza of the poem, "The Angel of Patience," where the poet writes:

"O thou who mournest on thy way,
With longings for the close of day;
He walks with thee, that Angel kind,
And gently whispers, 'Be resigned:
Bear up, bear on, the end shall tell
The dear Lord ordereth all things well!'"

Optimism is also the prevailing thought in the poem, "All's Well,"

"The clouds, which rise with thunder, slake
Our thirsty souls with rain;
The blow most dreaded falls to break
From off our limbs a chain;
And wrongs of man to man but make
The love of God more plain."

HYMNS OF WHITTIER

There is no reader in perusing the deep religious poems of Whittier who could help but notice the recurring frequency of his hymns. A letter in possession of Mrs. Phoebe Caliga Grantham from Reverend Mr. Horder of the Anglican Church in England says: ¹"John Greenleaf Whittier has more poems in the Church of England Hymnal than any

1. Letter in possession of Mrs. Phoebe Caliga Grantham.

other writer. These hymns are remarkable for their exaltation of the Divine Spirit. Though the Quakers as a sect were opposed to music, Whittier wrote these hymns oftentimes as dedications, as can be learned from their titles, some of which are: "Hymn for the House of Worship at Georgetown," "Hymn for the Opening of Plymouth Church" and "Hymn for Thomas Starr King's House of Worship." A remarkable example of this type is Whittier's, "Hymn of the Dunkers," which was written for a religious school in Pennsylvania.

"Wake sisters, wake! the day-starshine
Above Ephrata's eastern pines
The dawn is breaking, cool and calm.
Wake, sisters, wake to prayer and psalm

Praised be the Lord for shade and light
For toil by day, for rest by night!
Praised be His name who deigns to bless
Our Kedar of the wilderness!-"

"The Hymn Sung at the Anniversary of the Children's Missions in Boston," further continues the deep praise of the Lord from which Whittier never seems to be totally free.

"Thine are all the gifts O God!
Thine the broken bread;
Let the naked feet be shod,
And the starving fed.

Let Thy children, by Thy grace
Give as they abound,
Till the poor have breathing-space,
And the lost are found."

For anyone desiring to set a poem to music for the purpose of giving praise to our Lord he could not pass over the

"Centennial Hymn", where the poet writes:

"Our father's God! from out whose hand
The centuries fall like grains of sand,
We meet today, united, free
And loyal to our land and Thee
To thank Thee for the era done
And trust Thee for the opening one."

In regard to Whittier's hymns, Stedman says: ¹"His hymns, than which he composed nothing more spontaneously, are so many acts of faith. The Emancipationists certainly fought with the sword in one hand, the Bible in the other, — and Whittier's hymns upon their lips. The time came when these were no longer of hope, but of thanksgiving."

For the Quaker doctrine of the Inner Light, there is a sound psychological basis. Philosophical and religious thinkers of all times have found silence indispensable to the best workings of the mind. But it is the narrow and confining rules and the discipline of the Quakers that Whittier needed friends to save him from "the be-mummying wrappers of sect." An illustration of this occurred at a meeting of the Anti-Slavery Society in Philadelphia. Angelina Weld, a very close friend of Whittier's was married to Theodore D. Weld, out of the meeting. ²"Mr. Whittier was so strict a Quaker that he obeyed the rules of the Church, which forbade his attendance at this marriage of two dear friends of his, one of whom, the lady, was a Quaker." And, as it is evident, he has never permanently succeeded in

1. Poets of America - E. C. Stedman, page 125.

2. American Reformers - W. Sloane Kennedy, page 104 note 2.

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throwing off the dead weight with which he came into life - indeed, when you consider Quakerism on its weak side, its phlegmatic utilitarianism, its icy formalism, selfishness, reprobation of mucus, poetry, painting, the theater, the dance, hunting, fine manners, rich dress, nearly all the factors which make life noble and distinguished, - you wonder that Whittier ever produced great poetry at all. Fiery lyrics written by a Quaker are very rare. It is largely due to Quakerism that Philadelphia has never produced a genius. Of Mr. Whittier, we must affirm that the very depth and intensity of his religious nature has been an injury to his work as an artist. Always in proportion to the strength and tenderness of the religious feeling of the artist is the weakness in depicting man's noble deeds and emotions; but the artist must have passed through the stage of distracting emotion when he gives his ideas their final shape. Religious emotion is especially apt to blur and agitate the mind, unbias it, and becloud the impressions which fall upon it. While many of Whittier's religious hymns are of exquisite beauty and are found in great numbers in hymn books, it is still true that much of his verse is weakened by his religious didacticism. It is only the Quakeristic atmosphere, in which he has lived, the unconscious influence of a secluded life, that has crippled his genius.

ANTI SLAVERY POEMS

We have seen that the fundamentals of Quakerism as laid down by George Fox, the founder, were essentially democratic. The institution of slavery was one to which Whittier had great aversion since it violated one of the cardinal principles of his sect. Whittier began to write poetry during the year 1823. His first attempts were very rude and were patterned after the style of Robert Burns in Scotland. One of his poems was sent, without his knowledge, to the "Free Press" of Newburyport. William Lloyd Garrison, who later became one of the strongest Abolitionists in America, was the editor of this paper. The humanitarian tone of this paper so pleased John Greenleaf Whittier's father that he subscribed for it.¹ "Garrison was only two years older than John Greenleaf Whittier but he began editorial work at an early age, and was in literary experience very much the senior of the young poet. The poem was printed in the "Free Press" dated June 8, 1826. Whittier redoubled his efforts now that his literary genius was kindled, and sent numerous other contributions to the paper. The distance between Haverhill and Newburyport being very short, Garrison paid a visit to Whittier." This was the beginning of a life-long acquaintance and friendship between these two remarkable men. It ante-dates by some years, the anti-slavery agitation

1. Life and Letters of John Greenleaf Whittier - Pickard
Vol 1. page 51.

in which they were afterward intimately associated. Garrison with the social tact that distinguished him, put the shy youth at ease immediately. He heartily commended his work and assured him of his belief in his capacity for better things.

Whittier plunged into the ranks of the Abolitionists with all the tenacity of a man who finds himself at odds with unjustified principles against his creed. Therefore, there is nothing in American literature, unless it be the anti-slavery papers of Thoreau, which equals the seven-fold heated moral indignation of Whittier's poems on slavery,-- a wild melody in them like that of Highland pibrochs; now plaintively and piteously, now burning with passion and scorn; here glowing with tropical imagery, such as "Toussaint L'Ouverture" and, "The Slaves of Martinique" and there rising into lofty moral atmospheres of faith when all seemed dark and hopeless. Everyone knows the power of a cry and there can be no doubt that Whittier's poems did as much as Garrison's editorials to key up the minds of the people to the point required for action against slavery. Some of these anti-slavery pieces still possess great intrinsic beauty and excellence. In these poems there is little or none of the dreary didacticism of most anti-slavery poems, but a simple statement of a pathetically beautiful fact, which is left to make its own impression. Another powerful group of these poems is constituted of the scornful mock-

congratulatory productions such as, "The Hunters of Men," "Clerical Oppressors," "The Yankee Girl," "A Sabbath Scene" and "The Pastoral Letter." The sentences in these stanzas cut like knives and sting like shot. The clergy especially looks pitiful in the light of Whittier's scorn and contempt.

¹"The Tyrtaen fire which glowed in Whittier was so thoroughly kindled, that it has never completely gone out. All through his life, his hand has instinctively sought the old war-lyre whenever a voice was to be raised in the honor of Freedom." The formal close of the anti-slavery period with him may be said to be marked by his poem, "Laus Deo," a triumphant, almost ecstatic shout of joy uttered on hearing the bells ring out when the Constitutional Amendment abolishing Slavery was passed. Naturally the war poems of a Quaker - even of Whittier, could not equal his peace poems. ²"As a Quaker, a man of peace, he disapproved of war. Moreover, the lack of judgement displayed in the attempt to arouse and arm the slaves offended a man whose practiced good sense was always conspicuous. In his attitude towards war Whittier was consistent with his Quaker affiliations. He felt that the method used by the friends should be moral suasion, not force. He deplored the bloodshed of the civil conflict when it came; but he was at pains to

1. John Greenleaf Whittier - Kennedy page 274.

2. The Beacon Biographies of Eminent Americans - Burton page 101.

The first part of the paper is devoted to the study of the properties of the function $f(x)$ defined by the equation $f(x) = \int_0^x f(t) dt$. It is shown that $f(x)$ is a constant function, and its value is determined by the initial condition $f(0)$.

In the second part, we consider the problem of finding the maximum value of the function $f(x)$ on the interval $[0, 1]$. It is shown that the maximum value is attained at $x = 0$, and its value is $f(0)$.

The third part of the paper is devoted to the study of the properties of the function $f(x)$ defined by the equation $f(x) = \int_0^x f(t) dt$. It is shown that $f(x)$ is a constant function, and its value is determined by the initial condition $f(0)$.

In the fourth part, we consider the problem of finding the maximum value of the function $f(x)$ on the interval $[0, 1]$. It is shown that the maximum value is attained at $x = 0$, and its value is $f(0)$.

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find its justification in the great principle at stake."

Whittier's lyrics of freedom were written in the strength of his mature and seasoned manhood, and were either read at anti-slavery gatherings or published in the Abolition papers of the time. They are famous for their cutting satire and derision. As appeals to manhood and womanhood and spurs to ideal action, - the slogans, or war-cries of the march, - the influence of Whittier's voices of freedom was deep and permanent. Like grains of ambergris or pungent spices, they diffused their firey quality through the mind and steal quietly and unperceived into the heart. Generations have drawn heroic nourishment from them, as the thirsty willow-roots draw nourishment from the soil.

CHAMPIONS OF THE SLAVE

Whittier's first poems against slavery were in the form of tributes to the Champions of Slavery. Since Garrison was such a good friend and close companion of his throughout all the anti-slavery agitation preceding and during the Civil War, his first poem of this type was "To William Lloyd Garrison:"

"Champion of those who groan beneath
Oppression's iron hand:
In view of penury, hate, and death,
I see thee fearless stand,
Still bearing up thy lofty brow,
In the steadfast strength of truth,
In manhood sealing well the vow
And promise of thy youth.

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DEPARTMENT OF CHEMISTRY

REPORT ON THE PROGRESS OF THE WORK DURING THE YEAR 1900-1901

The work of the Department of Chemistry during the year 1900-1901 has been devoted to the study of the properties of the various forms of carbon, and to the investigation of the reactions of carbon with other elements and compounds. The results of these studies are reported in the following papers:

1. On the properties of the various forms of carbon, and on the reactions of carbon with other elements and compounds. (See paper by J. H. Van Vleet, p. 100.)

2. On the properties of the various forms of carbon, and on the reactions of carbon with other elements and compounds. (See paper by J. H. Van Vleet, p. 100.)

3. On the properties of the various forms of carbon, and on the reactions of carbon with other elements and compounds. (See paper by J. H. Van Vleet, p. 100.)

4. On the properties of the various forms of carbon, and on the reactions of carbon with other elements and compounds. (See paper by J. H. Van Vleet, p. 100.)

5. On the properties of the various forms of carbon, and on the reactions of carbon with other elements and compounds. (See paper by J. H. Van Vleet, p. 100.)

6. On the properties of the various forms of carbon, and on the reactions of carbon with other elements and compounds. (See paper by J. H. Van Vleet, p. 100.)

7. On the properties of the various forms of carbon, and on the reactions of carbon with other elements and compounds. (See paper by J. H. Van Vleet, p. 100.)

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10. On the properties of the various forms of carbon, and on the reactions of carbon with other elements and compounds. (See paper by J. H. Van Vleet, p. 100.)

APPENDIX

ANALYSES OF THE CARBON SAMPLES

The following table gives the results of the analyses of the carbon samples, as determined by the method of J. H. Van Vleet.

Sample	Carbon, %	Hydrogen, %	Nitrogen, %	Oxygen, %
1	99.9	0.1	0.0	0.0
2	99.9	0.1	0.0	0.0
3	99.9	0.1	0.0	0.0
4	99.9	0.1	0.0	0.0
5	99.9	0.1	0.0	0.0
6	99.9	0.1	0.0	0.0
7	99.9	0.1	0.0	0.0
8	99.9	0.1	0.0	0.0
9	99.9	0.1	0.0	0.0
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8	99.9	0.1	0.0	0.0
9	99.9	0.1	0.0	0.0
10	99.9	0.1	0.0	0.0

Go on, - for thou hast chosen well;
 On in the strength of God!
 Long as one human heart shall swell
 Beneath the tyrant's rod."

Whittier's next poem of this type is, "Toussaint L'Ouverture." This poem by its title and the location of the real happening, shows that Whittier had an odium for traffic in the human flesh, regardless of what land it was carried on in or who the oppressors were. Toussaint L'Ouverture, the black chieftain of Hayti, was a slave on the plantation "de Libertas," belonging to M. Bayou. When the rising of the negroes took place, in 1791, Toussaint refused to join them until he had aided M. Bayou and his family to escape to Baltimore. The white man had discovered in Toussaint many noble qualities, and had instructed him in some of the first branches of education; and the preservation of his life was owing to the negro's gratitude for this kindness. Whittier in his poem pictures the tranquil island, where everything is continuing along its normal course, as though nothing out of the ordinary would happen.

"T'was night. The tranquil moonlight smile
 With which Heaven dreams of Earth, shed down
 Its beauty on the Indian isle,-
 On broad green field and white-walled town;
 And inland waste of rock and wood,
 In searching sunshine, wild and rude,
 Rose, mellowed through the silver gleam,
 Soft as the landscape of a dream."

Suddenly over this tranquil and peaceful island there
 is heard a tumult.

"Hark to that cry! - long, loud, and shrill,
From field and forest, rock and hill,
Thrilling and horrible it rang."

The shout was that of the oppressed slaves who had been nurturing the wrongs done to them by their white oppressors, and suddenly revolted.

"It told of hate, full, deep, and strong,
Of vengeance kindling out of wrong;
It was as if the crimes of years-
The unrequited toil, the tears,
The shame and hate, which liken well
Earth's garden to the nether hell."

The poet then follows with a description of Toussaint L'Ouverture:

"Toussaint L'Ouverture!
What marvel that his heart beat high!
The blow for freedom had been given,
And blood had answered to the cry
Which Earth sent up to Heaven!"

Toussaint L'Ouverture succeeds in rescuing the master and his family from the rampant slaves. Later Toussaint is made Governor of the island. Napoleon, at the height of his militaristic power, wished to enslave the island of Hayti, he seized Toussaint and threw him into prison where Whittier eulogizes him in the concluding stanzas of this poem.

"Sleep calmly in thy dungeon-tomb,
Beneath Besancon's alien sky,
Dark Haytien! - for the time shall come,
Yea, even now is nigh,-
When, everywhere, thy name shall be
Redeemed from color's infamy;
And men shall learn to speak of thee,
As one of earth's great spirits."

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One cannot read the above lines without realizing the depth of Whittier's hatred for slavery and it was very much against his nature that anything was bought or sold in human flesh. Whittier pays tribute to Captain Jonathan Walker of Harwich, Mass. who was solicited by several fugitive slaves at Pensacola, Florida, to carry them in his vessel to the British West Indies. Although aware of the great hazard of the enterprise he attempted to comply with their request, but was seized by an American vessel at sea and returned to Key West, Florida. After a long confinement in prison, he was sentenced and ordered to have his right hand branded with the letters, S. S. (slave stealer).

"Welcome home again, brave seaman! with thy thoughtful
brow and gray.

And the old heroic spirit of our earlier, better day,
With that front of calm endurance, on whose steady
nerve in vain

Pressed the iron of the prison, smote the fiery shafts
of pain!

Is the tyrant's brand upon thee? Did the brutal cravens
aim

To make God's truth thy falsehood, his holiest work thy
shame?

When, all blood-quenched, from the torture the iron was
withdrawn,

How laughed their evil angel the baffled fools to scorn!

Then lift that manly right-hand, bold ploughman of the
wave!

Its branded palm shall prophesy, 'Salvation to the Slave!'
Hold up its fire-wrought language, that whose reads may
feel

His heart swell strong within him, his sinews change to
steel."

The first thing I noticed when I stepped out of the car was the cold. It was a sharp contrast to the warm blanket I had been sitting under. I looked up at the sky, which was a deep, dark blue, and I felt a sense of peace. The air was crisp and clean, and I could hear the distant sounds of the city. I took a deep breath and felt a sense of renewal. I had been so stressed and overwhelmed, but now I felt like I was starting over. I looked down at my hands, which were slightly numb from the cold, and I felt a sense of hope. I knew that I was going to make it through this. I was going to be a doctor. I was going to be a doctor.

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Whittier in this poem pays tribute to "Randolph of Roanoke" a Virginia slave-holder. This man was known throughout the entire South for his humane treatment of slaves which he owned.

"He held his slaves; yet kept the while
 His reverence for the Human;
 In the dark vassals of his will
 He saw but Man and Woman!
 No hunter of God's outraged poor
 His Roanoke valley entered;
 No trader in the souls of men
 Across his threshold ventured.

And when the old and wearied man
 Lay down for his last sleeping,
 And at his side, a slave no more,
 His brother-man stood weeping."

The kindness and example of this man so appealed to the nature of Whittier that he advised the State of Virginia that Randolph should be her favorite son.

"O, never bore his ancient State
 A truer son or braver!
 None trampling with a calmer scorn
 On foreign hate or favor."

Thomas Barbour was shot while trying to keep slavery out of Kansas. In Whittier's mind this man was a true martyr to the cause. He appeals to the people at this time that God will come to their aid and a way will be manifest to them so that this country will be cleared from the enigma of slavery.

"We in suffering, they in crime,
 Wait the just award of time,
 Wait the vengeance that is due;

Not in vain a heart shall break,
 Not a tear for Freedom's sake
 Fall unheeded: God is true."

Also since it violates the principle of the Quaker doctrine of the Inner Light.

"On our side are nature's laws,
 And God's life is in the cause
 That we suffer for to-day.

That the State whose walls we lay,
 In our blood and tears, to-day,
 Shall be free from bonds of shame
 And our goodly land untrod
 By the feet of Slavery, shod
 With cursing as with flame!"

William H. Seward, an ex-Governor of the State of New York, and a member of Lincoln's Cabinet, was eulogized by Whittier. Mr. Seward was very instrumental in holding the Union together when the issues of slavery and disunion threatened to split the Country. After one of Mr. Seward's speeches in the Senate Chamber (January 12, 1861) in which he stressed the preservation of the Union, Whittier wrote the following:

"Statesman, I thank thee! and, if yet dissent
 Mingles, reluctant, with my large content.
 I cannot censure what was nobly meant
 But, while constrained to hold even Union less
 Than Liberty and Truth and Righteousness,
 I thank thee in the sweet and holy name
 Of peace."

¹"Whittier, at one time was unable to attend an Anti-slavery meeting in the City of Philadelphia. The pecuniary difficulty was removed by the generosity of Samuel E.

1. John Greenleaf Whittier - Pickard Vol 1, page 133.

Sewall, one of the earliest and most efficient supporters of the cause of Emancipation." To this man Whittier writes:

"O friend of many years!
Though faith and trust are stronger than our
fears,
And the signs promise peace with liberty,
Not thus we trifle with our country's tears
And sweat of agony. The future's gain
Is certain as God's truth; but, meanwhile,
pain
Is bitter and tears are salt."

John L. Brown, a young white man of South Carolina, was in 1844 sentenced to death for aiding a young slave woman, whom he loved and had married, to escape from slavery. No event in the history of the Anti-slavery struggle so stirred the two hemispheres as did this dreadful sentence. A cry of horror was heard from Europe. The British House of Lords denounced it vehemently with mingled pathos and indignation. Thirteen hundred clergymen and church officers in Great Britain addressed a memorial to the churches of South Carolina against the atrocity. Indeed, so strong was the pressure of the sentiment of abhorrence and disgust that South Carolina yielded to it, and the sentence was commuted to scourging and banishment. Whittier caught the swing of this, and his poem, "The Sentence of John L. Brown" is choked with passionate scorn.

"Ho! thou who seekest late and long
A licence from the Holy Book
For brutal lust and fiendish wrong,
Man of the pulpit look!

Lift up those cold and atheist eyes,
 This ripe fruit of thy teaching;
 And tell us how to Heaven will rise
 The incense of this sacrifice-
 This blossom of this gallows tree!"

Whittier's last poem of this type was, "To Fremont."

Whittier's tone in this poem is a rather half-hearted attempt to praise Fremont for something he has unwisely done.

¹"General Fremont of Missouri, in the year 1861, rashly issued a proclamation of his own, without the previous knowledge of the President, to free slaves in his own military district." The appearance of the two words "thy error" at the beginning of this poem, seems to foretell that this verse will serve as a reminder to him:

"Thy error, Fremont, simply was to act
 A brave man's part, without the statesman's
 tact
 And, taking counsel of but common sense,
 To strike at root as well as consequence."

APPEAL TO STATES

²"In certain of these more outspoken poems such as: 'The Pine-Tree,' 'Massachusetts to Virginia,' 'Texas,' and 'The Branded Hand,' there seems to prevail a spirit not only intense but fierce. But those who understand the reality of the danger then impending, which was the entire subjection of the Government to the Slave Power, will not only pardon but applaud the energy with which the momentous

1. History of the United States - Fite page 382.

2. John Greenleaf Whittier - Underwood page 157.

issue was met. It was felt by all far-seeing men to be a question of life and death; and in such a crisis, courtesy would have been folly."

The poem entitled "Massachusetts to Virginia," created a profound impression and was quoted at length throughout the North. The rugged spirit of freedom and the tone which characterized the sturdy Saxon people of olden times are very marked in these lines from this notable poem:

"We hear thy threats, Virginia! thy
stormy words and high,
Swell harshly on the Southern winds
which melt along our sky;
Yet, not one brown, hard hand foregoes
its honest labor here,
No hewer of our mountain oaks suspends
his axe in fear.

All that a sister State should do, all that
a free State may,
Heart, hand, and purse we proffer, as in
our early day;
But that one dark loathsome burden ye
must stagger with alone,
And reap the bitter harvest which ye yourselves
have sown!

Hold, while ye may, your struggling slaves,
and burden God's free air
With woman's shriek beneath the lash, and
manhood's wild despair;
Cling closer to the 'cleaving curse' that
writes upon your plains
The blasting of Almighty wrath against a
land of chains.

But for us and for our children, the vow
which we have given
For freedom and humanity is registered in
heaven;

No slave-hunt in our borders, - no pirate on
 our strand!
 No fetters in the Bay State, - no slave
 upon our land!"

The spirit which throbs through the above stanzas is the spirit of justice, of progress, and the dawn; and whether it becomes as clear to us as it did to Whittier, we must recognize the eternal soul of Right as pulsing through the lines. In this poem he lauds the war-hating Quaker with the lines, "We wage no war, we lift no arm." In fact he has never written intentionally on war and passages in his poetry are always reprobating and deploring it.

Whittier in his hate for war, shows himself to be a true member of the rank and file of the Quakers. For as Kennedy says: ¹"The record of the Quakers on the slavery question in Abolition times is not one for their body as a whole to be proud of. They had fallen away from the high position that they occupied nearly a century previous, when they had voluntarily freed all their slaves and were becoming as worldly and selfish as the other churches. Having removed slavery from among themselves, they felt no call to interfere with the conscience of Southerners in the matter, especially as their wealth was acquired largely by Southern trade; yet the work accomplished by such ardent supporters as the Grimke sisters, Lucretia Mott, John Kenrick, and John Greenleaf Whittier, atones for much that is hard to

1. American Reformers - W. Sloane Kennedy page 77.

forgive in the attitude of the Quakers toward slavery at that time."

The following lines from Whittier's poem "Texas" although, they are not exactly what we would expect from a Quaker, the spirit being distinctly defiant, their effect must have been electrifying in the aroused conscience of men and women who were so far removed from slavery as to feel no personal or pecuniary interest in it, and who had known little save the darker side of the evil:

"Up the hillside, down the glen,
Rouse the sleeping citizen;
Summon out the might of men!

Clang the bells in all your spires;
On the gray hills of your sires
Fling to Heaven your signal fires.

Make the Union bond a chain
Weak as tow in Freedom's strain,
Link by link shall snap in twain.

We but ask our rocky strand
Freedom's true and brother band,
Freedom's strong and honest hand.

Valleys by the slave untrod,
And the Pilgrim's mountain sod,
Blessed of our fathers' God!"

It is, one gladly admits, moral heroism alone that Whittier has sometimes seemed to praise, in spite of himself, when he finds it in men with the weapons of death in their hands. This is best exemplified in the following lines from, "The Song of the Vermonters."

"Come down with your rifles! let gray wolf and fox
Howl on in the shade of their primitive rocks;
Let the bear feed securely from pig-pen and stall;
Here's a two-legged game for your powder and ball!

And though savage and wild be this climate of ours,
And brief be our season of fruits and of flowers,
Far dearer the blast round our mountains which raves
Than the sweet summer zephyr which breathes over slaves."

Whittier was unable to understand how men could yield to expediency when Justice and Right were at stake. With his soul at white heat and strained to its utmost tension, the spectacle of men arguing over political matters, was so disagreeable to him that he scarcely knew how to find words to express his horror and indignation. These thoughts are voiced in Whittier's poem "The Pine-Tree."

"Tell us not of banks and tariffs, - cease your
paltry pedler cries, -
Shall the good State sink her honor that your
gambling stocks may rise?
Would ye barter man for cotton? - That your gains
may sum up higher,
Must we kiss the feet of Moloch, pass our children
through the fire?
Is the dollar only real? - God and truth and right
a dream?
Weighed against your lying ledgers must our
manhood kick the beam?"

OPPOSITION TO ACTIONS OF CLERGYMEN

Some of Whittier's strongest poems (for stern sarcasm and ironical rebuke) were inspired by the opposition of the canting pro-slavery clergy of the North and South. The actions of the clergy and the American churches, were the

bulwarks of slavery from the beginning and during the period of the Abolitionists. This thought was very discouraging and maddening to Whittier and he took the necessary means of telling the people about it through his verses. To the Quakers, a hired priesthood and a paid ministry were the conservators of the popular will. If the pulpits had been occupied by unsalaried speakers, as was the custom of the Quakers, the Abolitionists would not have encountered the difficulty that they did. Many of the clergy were on the right side from the start and after a time the whole body wheeled into line. As early as 1845, one hundred and seventy ministers of Massachusetts signed a protest against slavery which had been drawn up by James Freeman Clarke.¹

Three of Whittier's anti-slavery poems are directly aimed at the clergy. He took advantage of every opportunity to censure and ridicule their actions. It is evident from the following poems that he heartily disapproved of their actions on the slavery questions. His indignation coupled with his Quaker principle of no ordained clergy make these lines sparkle with his anger. The following stanza is taken from his poem, "The Clerical Oppressors."

"Just God! - and these are they
Who minister at thine altar, God of Right!
Men who their hands with prayer and blessing lay
On Israel's Ark of light!

1. See his "Anti-Slavery Days" page 131.

How long O Lord! how long
 Shall such a priesthood barter truth away,
 And in thy name, for robbery and wrong
 At thy own altars pray?"

This same spirit is caught again in his poem "The
 Pastoral Letter."

"So, this is all, - the utmost reach
 Of priestly power the mind to fetter!
 When laymen think - when women preach -
 A war of words - a "Pastoral Letter!"
 Now, shame upon ye, parish Popes!
 Was it thus with those, your predecessors,
 Who sealed with racks, and fire, and ropes
 Their loving-kindness to transgressors?"

Perhaps the strongest poem of this group is entitled,
 "A Sabbath Scene." With all the powerful imagery in his
 power, the poet gives us a picture of a Sunday morning in
 Spring. The bell has just tolled and the people are already
 on their way to church. Whittier wished to make the point
 emphatic that this was not a Quaker church, by having a bell
 toll a summons to the congregation. Down the street is seen
 a "wasted female figure with dusky brow and naked feet."
 This poor creature seeks to enter the church and give thanks
 to God. Her entrance to the church attracts the attention
 of the pastor and the assembled congregation. The words
 of indignation of this pastor deeply stir our emotions.

"'Who dares profane this house and day?'
 Cried out the angry pastor.
 'Why bless your soul, the wench's a slave,
 And I'm her lord and master.'

I've law and gospel on my side,
 And who shall dare refuse me?
 Down came the parson, bending low
 'My good sir - pray excuse me!

Of course I know your right divine
 To own, and work and whip her;
 Quick deacon, throw that Polyglot
 Before the wench, and trip her!'

I saw her dragged along the aisle,
 Her shackles harshly clanking;
 I heard the parson, over all,
 The Lord devoutly thanking!"

The statements in the three preceding poems are of very strong meaning and have an air of revolt against the customs of the Church. This is no doubt one of the main causes why Whittier is a poet of the Minority. The world loves a poet when his themes are of nature and of love, or of the adventures of brave men, but when he starts a revolt against that which has been held sacred since the beginning of Christianity, he finds that his poems of this type are not appreciated by the Majority. A fitting tribute was paid to Whittier in an address by F. B. Sanborn when he said: ¹"To be a poet of the Minority is not always to be on the right side: but the greatest poets in the World's history have held that position. If we could know all the facts about the men who wrote the epics ascribed to Homer, it would probably be true of them; and certainly it was true of Euripedes and Sophocles among the Greek dramatists of Lucretius in Rome, of Dante in Florence, Milton in England, Burns in Scotland, Wordsworth,

1. An address by F. B. Sanborn dated December 17, 1907
 at Haverhill Centenary.

Shelley and Keats in England, and in our day it has been true of Browning there and Emerson here. This may be said, however, of the better parts of poets of the Minority, - that if they represent as they usually do, the higher national aspiration, the day comes even in their lifetime when they are for awhile the Voice of their Nations. Dante never reached that fortunate day, but Milton did and Wordsworth more slowly attained it; so in this country did the poets of Democracy and Anti-slavery; and the popularity which from the first attended Longfellow overtook Bryant and Lowell and more slowly Whittier in the crisis of the Civil War."

BALLADS

Whittier's ballads of the slavery group are two in number. These ballads will long have an inseparable connection with the Civil War. The date of John Brown's attempt to incite an insurrection of the Southern slaves, was in 1859. Brown belonged to a plain Massachusetts family that traced its origin back to the Mayflower. He was a simple, God-fearing man, abhorring slavery and war, and in less stirring times would have probably died on a farm. His mind became fixed to the idea of Abolition. The purpose grew to dominate all his actions so that it might be called by wiser men, insanity. But it was far from the insanity of

the insane; it was the over-tension of a noble singleness of heart such as animated George Fox, a singleness of heart that would not hesitate even at throwing himself away. His rash, ill-judged, movement at Harper's Ferry may be properly called the starting point of the civil strife which engulfed our Nation. Whittier pays tribute to this noble but impetuous man with:

"John Brown of Ossawatimie
 Spake on his dying day;
 'I will not have to shrive my soul
 A priest in slavery's pay;
 But let some poor slave mother
 Whom I have striven to free
 With her child from the gallow-stair
 Put up a prayer for me!'"

The second and better known of the two ballads is "Barbara Frietchie." This is perhaps the only piece of literature of the Civil War period that has survived the test of time and is one of Whittier's most outstanding poems. Concerning the authenticity of this ballad, Carpenter says: ¹"The alleged facts on which 'Barbara Frietchie' was founded have been somewhat hotly discussed; but it is clear that Whittier was guiltless of distorting in any way the incident as it was reported to him." The Stars and Stripes seemed to the South to stand for the unjust interference with the rights of certain States and it became to them, as to the Union Army, not the symbol of the Country, but only of the North. The gray-haired woman, herself a reminder of the epoch when

1. John Greenleaf Whittier - Carpenter page 262.

sectional differences did not exist, by her loyalty to the old standard under circumstances where it was regarded only as a hostile emblem, is thus the incarnation of the honor due, both North and South, to the banner of our fathers. This same honor is, at the present time, paid to that banner without any thought of the time when our Nation was divided. The rebuke offered to the South was sectional in its appeal; it was unjust in its inference that General Jackson was not acting a noble part in defense of his principles. The power of the poem now, and its high significance then, lay not merely in its perfect form but the direction which it gave the thoughts of every reader toward the ideal of national unity.

"'Shoot, if you must, this old gray head,
But spare your country's flag,' she said.

A shade of sadness, a blush of shame,
Over the face of the leader came;

The nobler nature within him stirred
To life at that woman's deed and word:

'Who touches a hair of yon gray head
Dies like a dog! March on!' he said."

THE WAR POEMS

The war poems of Whittier are not numerous. Of the departure of regiments - the pomp, pride and circumstance of war, we find nothing in his poems. The position of an advocate of Freedom must have been particularly trying, even

with the glorious object of Freedom in view;-

"Wherever Freedom's vanguard goes,
Where stand or fall her friends or foes,
I know that place should be mine.

O brothers blest by partial Fate
With power to match the will and deed.
To him your summons comes too late
Who sinks beneath his armor's weight,
Has no answer but God-speed!"

The poems which are in any way connected with the topic of war, finds Whittier echoing again his dependence upon the Divine Providence. The solemn appeals to God, and the sublime trust in the final triumph of right affect us with a sense of exaltation. While the great thoughts are in his mind, heroism appears to him to be the simple and natural attribute of man.

The miscellaneous poems which are gathered under the title of, "In War Time," are nearly all affected by the prevailing sadness and anxiety of the poet. Some line or couplet, or, it may be an epithet, shows the channels into which Whittier's thoughts wandered. Thus in the prelude to the poem, "Amy Wentworth," the author apologizes for having the heart to write of anything but the Nation's trial:

"Let none upbraid us that the waves entice
Thy sea-dipped pencil, or some quaint device,
Rhythmic and sweet, beguiles my pen away
From the sharp strifes and sorrows of to-day."

So, in "Mountain Pictures," after sketching the grandeur and majesty of Franconia in a storm, he exclaims:

"So, let me hope, the battle storm that beats
 The land with hail and fire may pass away
 With its spent thunders at the break of day,
 Like last night's clouds, and leave, as it retreats,
 A greener earth and fairer sky behind,
 Blown crystal-clear by Freedom's Northern wind!"

Then again, while describing a festival under the laurel-trees, he remembers that:

"The drum rolls loud, - the bugle fills
 The summer air with clangor;
 The war storm shakes the solid hills
 Beneath its tread of anger."

The next two poems are valuable in American Literature because they are so replete with vivid imagery and the power of a strong poet. Whittier was always cautioning, always warning against the promotion of slavery in America. A group of poems which was dedicated to the different occupations of men in New England, evidences this point. The poem from this particular group is called, "The Ship-builders."

"Speed on the ship! - But let her bear
 No merchandise of sin,
 No groaning cargo of despair
 Her roomy hold within;

No Lethean drug for Eastern lands,
 Nor poison-draught for ours;
 But honest fruits of toiling hands
 And Nature's sun and showers."

"The Slave Ships" stands out as one of Whittier's best anti-slavery poems. With themes such as this he stirred the hearts of his countrymen against that hated institution. Such themes as these and the strong sentiment ex-

pressed in them no doubt led Wendell to say: ¹"Among the anti-slavery leaders of Massachusetts was John Greenleaf Whittier, who, with the passing of time, seems more and more distinguished as a man of letters."

In this poem Whittier recounts the horror of an imaginary voyage of a slave ship. A terrible malady broke out when the trip was half finished, - an obstinate disease of the eyes. This disease was aggravated by the scarcity of water and the filth of the slave quarters. The captain tries in every possible way to check the spread of this disease, but fails. Many were ordered to be shot, while others jumped overboard. The malady reached the crew and they also were stricken. The imagery and theme of this poem are very similar to Coleridge's "Ancient Mariner." One cannot help being affected by the character of the captain when he addresses his men with such statements as:

"Heave up the worthless lubbers,-

Now let the sharks look to it,-
Toss up the dead ones first!

The blind ones are no better,
Let's lighten the good ship.

Overboard with them shipmates!
Cutlass and dirk were plied;
Fettered and blind, one after one,
Plunged down the vessel's side."

With such oppressions and actions that are so contrary to the Moral law, do we wonder that slave-trading shook the

1. A Literary History of America - Barrett Wendell, page 358.

there were no oppressed to be set free, no wrongs to be redressed or no evils to be overthrown, he might have sung hymns of pure beauty and joy, for Whittier evinces a keen sense of the Divine in man, or, a more ecstatic pleasure in the Divine manifestations in nature. ¹"These poems are remarkable for their strong utterances against an offensive cause. Even if these poems were read today, they would renew in the mind the glow with which they were first read, as stanza succeeds stanza of impassioned eloquence, paralleled only by the majestic burdens of the Prophets of old."

One, entitled simply, "Stanzas," has an almost terrible force as is clear from the reading of the first few lines:

"What, ho! - our countrymen in chains!
 The whip on woman's shrinking flesh!
 Our soil yet reddening with the stains
 Caught from her scourging, warm and fresh!
 What! mothers from their children riven!
 What! God's own image bought and sold!
 Americans to market driven,
 And bartered as the brute for gold!"

Evidently written in white heat, the language is at once terse and vehement and the sound of lines is like the clashing of swords.

The entire conflict of the Civil War was very disagreeable to Whittier. From his poems we can see that he did not approve of the means taken to free the slaves. His last poem is like a deep sigh of relief after a long and tiresome vigil. In his supreme exultation, he poured forth,

1. Life of John Greenleaf Whittier - Linton page 80.

very heart of Whittier. Even today, if these sentiments were penned by a man whose religion was, "Love to All," our emotions would be aroused and we would be moved to strike a blow for the down-trodden.

The poet's first task to arouse our emotions is to picture in our mind's-eye, some scene or happening that will stir us. This becomes the starting-point of their greatness and ability. Whittier left no stone unturned in order to show the curse of slavery upon the Nation. The preceding poems of frightful imagery and realness would move the heart of any lover of Freedom. His next two poems that are discussed shows how he delves into the roots of the enigma upon the banner of Liberty. The first is a slave-auction scene and is capable of stirring the feelings of any anti-slavery partisan.

"A Christian! going, gone!
Who bids for God's own image? - for his grace,
Which that poor victim of the market-place
Hath in her suffering won?

A Christian up for sale!
Wet with her blood your whips, o'er-task her frame,
Make her life loathsome with your wrong and shame,
Her patience shall not fail!"

It is clear from reading the various anti-slavery poems, that Whittier did not intend his poetry as an end, but rather as a means to attain this end. His first aim was to reach the hearts of men, and poetic diction seems to be only the feathering of his arrows. If he had lived in a time when

as if by sublime improvisation that song of triumph "Laus Deo." The dungeon of Giant Despair was at last broken open and Freedom was given to all that had known the tortures of its innermost recesses:

"It is done!
Clang of bell and roar of gun
Send the tidings up and down.
How the belfries rock and reel!
How the great guns, peal on peal,
Fling the joy from town to town!

For the Lord
On the whirlwind is abroad;
In the earthquake he has spoken;
He has smitten with his thunder
The iron walls asunder,
And the gates of brass are broken!"

However marked may have been the influence of Whittier's poems in the war days, too much honor should not be claimed for him or for any one person who labored for the cause of the slave or for preserving the Union. It was not the efforts of John Greenleaf Whittier, William Lloyd Garrison or Abraham Lincoln that saved the Union and abolished slavery, - not the work of any one of these alone, nor the armies of the North alone, nor of the farmers and merchants who furnished food, clothing and weapons; but it was the toil of all these working together that brought about the final result.

Whittier's feelings about the war were of regret, mingled with resignation to "God's Will" and a patriotic acquiescence in what seemed an unaboidable calamity. He recognized that God is sometimes in the whirlwind as well as

in the still small voice. He believed that the mission of the Friends in the war was to care for the slave, the freed-man and the wounded.

"And we may tread the sick-bed floors
Where strong men pine,
And down the burning corridors
Pour freely from our liberal stores,
The oil and wine."

It is evident from Whittier's writings that he, as well as Garrison, was sadly tired by President Lincoln's cautious but conciliatory measures as to slavery. Those shackles and chains, those fellow-men who were in bondage, were the matters that fretted and chafed him. Garrison was even ready at one time that this country should suffer disunion, if our skirts could not be cleaned of the sin of slavery in any other way. We can readily see that slavery had become an obsession with this man. Not so with Lincoln however, a man of much profounder statesmanship than any one of the chiefs of the forces of the Abolitionists. The blood circulated slowly through his gigantic frame and he was slow, but methodical in reaching his conclusions. From the very first he saw the absolute necessity of preserving the Union. He felt his way slowly and cautiously to emancipation. He sagaciously refused to be moved in national matters, until he felt that the inertia was overcome and that the people were waiting for a change. He was a profound calculator of forces and events. There was that in him which matched the long suf-

ference and taciturnity of his nature. His feelings toward slavery were viewed more intellectually than were the glowing-indignant thoughts of the Abolitionists. Whittier never wrote a line in praise of this great man. While there was no open animosity between the two, it is regretful that the poet never expressed his regard for this Emancipator through the medium of his verse.

To sum up the analysis of the poet's character, we have seen that the central trait of his mind was Love of Freedom. Even his creed, which is so profound an element in his nature, and so all persuasive in his writings, will be found on a deep analysis, to be a yearning for Freedom from the trappings of sense and time in order to attain a spiritual union with the Infinite. This Love of Freedom, this hatred of persecution, both ancestral and personal, stimulated by contact with Puritan Democracy as well as by the New England Transcendental-movement, and flowering luxuriantly in the long struggle against slavery, - this noble sentiment and that long self-sacrificing personal warfare in behalf of the oppressed form the true glory of Whittier's character. Shy, timid and having a nervous horror of war and personal indignities, yet he forgot himself in his love of Man, and as a result, suffered social martyrdom. ¹"For more than twenty-five years he was hated by one-half of his fellow-countrymen and

1. Boston Herald - "The Quaker Poet" - August 28, 1892.

jeered at by almost all the other half. His name at the head of a poem was a finger pointing to the waste-basket. He kept along at his ordained task and the ravens kept at theirs. Shortly there was a great clanking of chains and a million of God's creatures stood blinded under the bright light of Freedom. Everyone began to search for the people who jeered him, but they were unable to be found."

Whittier never ceased to express his high-born soul in burning invective against the oppressor, or in words of lofty hope and cheer for the suffering idealist and lover of humanity. Whittier is a hero as well as a poet to the great cause of Freedom. He will be known to posterity by a few exquisite poems, but chiefly by his moral heroism and patriotism. There will be a time in America when people will proudly look back upon the poets of Freedom. In that age men will not concern themselves so much for scholar-poets as for hero-poets, like Whittier, who put faith in the rights of men and women, who believed in divine democracy and were not ashamed of it, but nursing it patiently through its infancy, were well assured of its undying grandeur when it should come to man's estate.

POEMS AGAINST PERSECUTION

Every religion in the world, from the moment of its inception has suffered persecution. These atrocities have endured in some instances for years, in others for a short time. The early Christians endured untold tortures and sufferings at the hands of unpropitious Roman Emperors. Their bravery and courage in refusing to worship the deities of the Roman state have furnished themes for many of the greatest pieces of literature in the world. Ruler after ruler tried in vain to put an end to their numbers but was rewarded only by increased fervor and a great swelling in their ranks. When these rulers realized that their cause was hopeless, they left the Christians to their ordained form of worship and soon many of them fell in line with the followers of Christ. Luther was stoned and beaten when he nailed his theses to a church in Wurttemberg, and prepared to defend them.

The fact that America was successfully colonized was due to religious persecution. Those early Puritans who left England to go to Holland, and later to America, were remarkable examples of a sect that would not bow to the ordinance of a king. The one great fact however, that these Puritans overlooked was that they who left England because their particular belief was suppressed, did the same thing in America

by trying to suppress a creed in this country.

The Puritans were much more barbarous in their treatment of Quakers than they (Puritans) themselves had suffered at the hands of the King of England. Far more damaging and obnoxious creeds have entered our land since that time and not a hand has been raised against their advent. The persecutions of the Quakers were due to two facts. The first was that certain prejudices against their actions were brought from England where their activities were of a very different nature than those that first visited our shores. The second was that in the early days, the Church and State were identical, and whatever was against the Church, naturally went against the State. Therefore, with the arrival of a new form of worship upon our land, many people could see nothing but the destruction of the Church and subsequent downfall of the State.

These persecutions were also accompanied by their martyrs. There were two books written which deal with the atrocities which these unfortunate people suffered. The first, "New England Judged," was published in London in the year 1656 and was revised in the year 1703. The second, "Sufferings of the Friends," was published later, in the year 1723. While the second concerns itself totally with the persecution of the Quakers in England, the first tells of their tortures in and about the City of Boston. It is evident from reading

these books that Whittier was influenced by them and composed his poems from them. Their sufferings struck a note in his heart that made him revolt and decry the customs of that time. The names and happenings are congruent with each other. The martyrs of his cause appealed to him as do those who suffered in other lands that our religion should flourish appeal to us. The district in which Whittier lived suffered its share of these outlandish persecutions. Whittier puts forth this thought while calling down the clergy, in his poem called "The Pastoral Letter."

"The stocks were at each church's door,
The gallows stood on Boston Common,
A Papist's ears the pillory bore,-
The gallows-rope, a Quaker woman!

Old Newbury, had her fields a tongue,
And Salem's streets could tell their story,
Of fainting woman dragged along,
Gashed by the whip, accursed and gory!"

The entire lineage of the Whittier family suffered persecution either physical or social. This thought also prompts him in the poem, "Winter Roses."

"Of old my Quaker ancestors
Had gifts of forty stripes save one;
To-day as many roses crown
The gray head of their son."

The religion of the Quakers was not introduced into the Whittier family until the advent of ¹Joseph Peasely. Thomas Whittier, the common ancestor of all the Whittiers, was denied his citizenship in Haverhill because he befriended

1. See page 4.

wandering Quaker missionaries. Later, however, in the year 1666, he was again admitted to good standing in the eyes of his fellow townsmen.

A. Cassandra Southwick.

The most noted Quaker family upon which the wrath of the Puritans was visited, was that of Lawrence Southwick, who lived in that part of Salem now known as Peabody. The following are some of the penalties imposed upon the Southwick family for being Quakers or Friends as they called themselves:- ¹"Lawrence and his wife, were put in prison, his wife remaining there for seven weeks. Cassandra was fined forty shillings for possessing a paper that was written by the Quakers. Josiah, their son, was thrown into jail. Lawrence and Josiah were fined. Provided, a daughter of Lawrence, fined and ordered set by the heels in the stocks; Mary Trask, daughter of Lawrence Southwick, jailed for ten months. A Mr. Marston was put in jail for being requested by the children of Lawrence Southwick to take some food to them in jail; Lawrence, Cassandra and Josiah banished from the colony under sentence of death if they returned." Thus Lawrence and his wife, in their old age, were parted from their children and with but little money and few articles - the fines of the courts having taken most of their estates, - secured a boat and sailed southward along the coast. The

1. Early History of the Puritans, Quakers and Indians.
by Walter H. Southwick page 2.

book "New England Judged" contains the following passage regarding this fact:

¹"And thefe in the firft place are Lawrence Southwick, his wife Caffandra and Jofiah their Son (whom I have often mentioned for your cruelty) All Inhavitants of Salem, againft whom, in no one Particular had ye proceeded according to Law; but, having tortured their Bodies, and broken their Eftates, and diftracted their Families and often wearied them (tho in the Lord they had reft) ye Banifted from All, even from their Country. So they paffed to Shelter-Ifland where fhortly after, in three days of each other, they both died."

Josiah returning later, was put in jail for nine weeks and ordered tied to the tail of a cart and whipped on his bare back with a whip made of dried intestines of animals and having three knots at the end. At the time Lawrence, his wife and son were banished, their other son Daniel, aged twenty-two, and daughter Provided, aged eighteen, were ordered to be sold into slavery, to be sent among the barbarians of the Barbadoes Island. ²"That the Treafurers of the feveral countries are and fhall be fully Impowered to Sell the faid Perfons, Daniel and Provided, Son and daughter of Lawrence Southwick, to any of the English Nations as Virginia or Barbadoes to anfwer the faid fines (signed) Edward Rawfon, Clerk."

1. New England Judged - Bishop page 100.

2. New England Judged - Bishop page 109.

The girl pleads with the multitude to rescue her from the cruel hands of her captors. Whittier then chooses for his spokesman the priest of the village, again showing his aversion to the clergy.

"Dark lowered the brows of Endicott, and with a
 deeper red
 O'er Rawson's wine-empurpled cheek the flush
 of anger spread;
 'Good people,' quoth the white-lipped priest,
 'heed not her words so wild,
 Her Master speaks within her, - the Devil owns
 his child!'"

The priest then proceeded to ask the sea-captains which one of their number would take the girl in his ship and sell her as a slave in some far off land. He beseeches them but they are obdurate. Finally one of their number steps forward and addresses the priest and dignitaries with some very strong words. Whittier's hatred of slavery and persecution was all summed up in this speech of the staunch old sea-captain.

"Pile my ship with bars of silver, - pack with
 coins of Spanish gold,
 From keel-piece up to deck-plank, the roomage
 of her hold,
 By the living God who made me! - I would sooner
 in your bay
 Sink ship and crew and cargo, than bear this
 child away!"

The name of the girl that was ordered to be sold into slavery was, Provided Southwick. Whittier changed the girls name for that of her mother, Cassandra, because of its poetic sound.

B. Banished from Massachusetts.

The family of the Southwicks, and the persecution that they suffered certainly appealed to Whittier. Of the five poems describing the horrors of the tortures, no less than two were dedicated to this unfortunate family. The next poem of this type, deals with the banishment of Lawrence and his wife from their home in Salem to the desolate Shelter Island where further tragedy overtook them. Though this poem is not as pathetic and melodious as that of "Cassandra Southwick," there are many beautiful lines contained in it. The stanza that expresses most feeling is the one in which the wife of Lawrence asks him to return to Salem.

"And when the green shore blended with the gray,
 His poor wife moaned: 'Let us turn back again.'
 'Nay, woman, weak of faith, kneel down,' said he,
 'And say thy prayers: the Lord himself will steer;
 And led by Him, nor man nor devils I fear!'
 So thy gray Southwicks, from a rainy sea,
 Saw, far and faint, the loom of land, and gave
 With feeble voices thanks for friendly ground
 Whereon to rest their weary feet, and found
 A peaceful death-bed and a quiet grave
 Where, ocean-walled, and wiser than his age,
 The lord of Shelter scorned the bigot's rage."

C. The King's Missive.

"Under the great hill sloping bare
 To cove and meadow and Common lot,
 In his council chamber and oaken chain,
 Sat the worshipful Governor Endicott."

The preceding stanza opens the poem, "The King's Missive."
 The persecution of the Quakers in America had been carried

abroad to the people in England. George Fox, William Penn and other outstanding members of the sect petitioned Charles, the Second, for his intercession on their behalf. The deeds of the Puritans had rankled the hearts of those who were in sympathy with that sect, and they were finally moved to action. Samuel Shattuck, who had been banished from Salem at the time of the Southwicks, went to England on behalf of the unfortunate people of this land. The historian, Sewel, . says on this point: ¹"This mandamus to the rulers of New England being obtained, as hath been said, quick dispatch was thought necessary to send it thither. And Samuel Shattock being empowered by the King to carry it, an agreement was made with one Ralph Goldsmith, who was master of the good ship and was also one of those called Quakers, for three hundred pounds (goods or no goods) to sail in ten days."

Whittier keeps very close to the original story by the following lines:

"A fellow banished on pain of death-
Shattuck, of Salem, unhealed of the ship,
Brought over in Master Goldsmith's ship."

Shattuck (or Shattock) is ushered into the presence of the Governor and Whittier shows him to be still firm to the principles of his sect by failing to remove his hat in the presence of a superior.

"Into that presence grim and dread
Came Samuel Shattuck, with hat on head."

1. Sewel - History of the Quakers Vol.I page 476.

The Governor recognized the seal of His Majesty and forthwith ordered the release of all the Quakers that were being detained in prisons at that time.

"He turned to the Quaker, bowing low,-
 'The king commandeth your friends release,
 Doubt not he shall be obeyed, although
 To his subjects sorrow and sin's increase.
 What he here enjoineth, John Endicott,
 His loyal servant, questioneth not.
 You are free! God grant the spirit you own
 May take you from us to parts unknown.'"

The General Court met again on November twenty-seventh, 1661 and passed a law against any further punishment of the Quakers. In this law it is interesting to note that though they would not disobey the King, they were loath to enact a law that would in any way benefit the Quakers. The law reads as follows:

¹ "The just & necessary rules of our gouernment & condicon for preservation of religion, order & peace hath induced the authority here established from time to time to make and sharpen lawes agt Quakers in refference to their restles intrusions & impetuous disturbance, & not any propensity or any inclination in vs to punish them in person or estate as is evident by our graduall proceeding with them, releasing some condemned & others liable to condemnation, & all imprisoned were released, & sent out of our borders; all wch not wth standing theire restles spiritts, haue mooved some of them to retorne, & others to fill the royall eares of our

1. Records of Massachusetts Bay Company in New England
 Vol. IV page 35.

souveraigne lord the king wth complaints against vs, and haue, by theire wearied solicitations in our absence, so farr pre-
 wayled as to obtaine a letter from his majty to forbear
 theire corporall punishment or death. Although we hope, &
 doubt not, but that if his majty were rightly informed he
 would be farr from giving them such favour, or weaking his
 authority here so long & orderly settled, yet, that we may
 not in the least offend his majty this Court doth heereby
 order and declare, that the execution of the lawes in force
 against Quakers, as such, so far as they respect corporall
 punishment or death be suspended vntill this Court take
 further order."

The poem fascinates us for the incident is dramatic and
 focuses in a single picturesque situation all the features
 of the persecution of the Quakers by the Puritan Commonwealth
 of Massachusetts. This brief setting forth of the facts are
 necessary to a right understanding of the Quaker poet's
 inherited character as well as a comprehension of his poetry.
 One whose ancestors have been persecuted for generations
 inherits a loathing of oppression, and we find that Whittier
 was thoroughly schooled in this hatred of tyranny. As
 Vincent says of him: ¹"Whittier was always ready to speak on
 the injustice of injustice. His Quaker ancestors used to
 receive gifts of forty stripes save one. They were martyrs
 for the cause of religious liberty, and the sufferings of

1. American Literary Masters - Vincent page 272.

the New England Quakers was a subject always to the poet's hand. He contemplated the wrongs that had been righted and was grateful therefor; but it was part of his mission to teach his readers what progress had been made since the days in which the state and church united to persecute a harmless, if sometimes extravagant people."

D. How the Women went from Dover.

Whittier did not confine himself to Essex County for themes. This poem deals with a law that was enacted, and a subsequent punishment that took place in Dover, New Hampshire. Though the law was enacted before the mandamus from King Charles arrived, the first punishment for its violation occurred long after Massachusetts had ceased to harass the Quakers. The following is the law that was enacted in Dover, on May twenty-second, 1661: ¹"This Court, being desirous of trying all means, with as much lenity as may consist with our safety, to prevent the intrusions of the Quakers, who besides their absurd & blasphemous doctrine, doe like rouges & vagabonds come in upon us, & have not been restrained by the laws already provided, have ordered that every such vagabond Quaker found within any part of this jurisdiction shall be apprehended by any person or persons, or by any constable of the town wherein he or she is taken & adjudged to be a wandering Quaker viz, one that hath not any dwelling or

1. Provincial Papers - Documents and Records relating to the Province of New Hampshire from the Earliest Period of its Settlement. Page 238 and 239.

orderly allowance as an inhabitant of this jurisdiction & not giving civill respect by the usual gestures thereof, or by any other way or means manifesting himself to be a Quaker, shall, by a warrant under the hand of the said magistrate or magistrates, directed to the constable of the towne wherein he or she is taken, or in absence of the constable or any other meete person, be stripped naked from the middle upwards & tied to a carts tayle, and whipped thro the towne, and from thence imediately conveyed to the constable of the next towne towards the borders of our jurisdiction, as theire warrant shall direct & so from constable to constable till they be conveyed thro the outwardmost townes of our jurisdiction."

The next is the warrant that was signed for the punishment of three Quaker women, from which Whittier derived his theme.

¹"To the Constables of Dover, Hampton, Salisbury, Newbury, Rowley, Ipswich, Windham, Linn, Boston Roxbury, Dedham, and until these vagabond Quakers are out of this jurisdiction:

You and every of you are required in the King's Majesty's name, to take these vagabond Quakers, Anna Coleman, Mary Tompkins and Alice Ambrose, and make them fast to the cart's tail, and drawing the cart through your several towns, to whip them upon their naked backs, not exceeding ten stripes apiece on each of them in each town, and so convey them from

1. Provincial Papers - Documents and Records relating to the Province of New Hampshire from the Earliest Period of its Settlement. Page 243.

Constable to Constable till they are out of this jurisdiction, as you will answer it at your own peril, and this shall be by your warrant.

Per me,

Richard Waldron.

At Dover, dated December 22, 1662.

Whittier's peace-loving spirit revolted against such treatment of his fellow-creatures. In these poems his description elements transcend those of his anti-slavery and his religious poems. The following is a passage taken from the first of the poem, "How the Women went from Dover."

"Bared to the waist, for the north wind's grip
And keener sting of the constable's whip,
The blood that followed each hissing blow
Froze as it sprinkled the winter snow."

These wretched women suffered the lashes of the whip from the hand of the constables at Dover and Hampton. At Salisbury, a town within three miles of Whittier's birthplace, they were released by Major Robert Pike. Whittier eulogizes Pike for his gallant action and for the noble part he played in the witchcraft delusion which took place some years later.

"'Show me the order, and meanwhile strike
A blow at your peril!' said Justice Pike.
Of all the rulers the land possessed,
Wisest and boldest was he and best.

He scoffed at witchcraft; the priest he met
As man meets man; his feet he set
Beyond his dark age, standing upright,
Soul-free, with his face to the morning light."

Thus passed one of the blackest periods of religious intolerance that the country has ever known. The punishments that this unfortunate sect underwent are atrocious. Today it would be impossible to imagine such strong measures being meted out to a religious group that did not conform to any fixed set of principles. Though Governor Endicott and his various officers acted in what they thought good faith in preserving the unity of the Church and State, we wonder at their inhuman tortures when they themselves left England because an attempt was made to suppress their religion.

E. Barclay of Ury.

This poem shows that Whittier went to foreign lands to find subjects for his poems. It is also another example of his failure to single out national heroes for his verse, he being satisfied to honor a poor and oppressed sufferer for some lost cause. This poem would be one of Whittier's best were it not for the fact that after giving a very good picture of a real Quaker, he moralizes very weakly in the closing four stanzas.

Barclay of Ury was an old, distinguished Scotchman who fought under Gustavus Adolphus in Germany. He was one of the earliest converts to the Quaker doctrines of George Fox. As a soldier, he was an object of the praise and honor of his native people, but as a Quaker he became the object

of persecution at the hands of the magistrates and the populace. The best representation of the mien and character of Barclay is given as he walks up the street of his village to be judged by the ruler for being a Quaker.

"Who with ready weapon bare,
Fronting to the troopers there,
Cried aloud: 'God save us,
Call ye coward him who stood
Ankle deep in Lutzen's blood,
With the brave Gustavus?'

'Nay, I do not need thy sword,
Comrade mine,' said Ury's lord;
'Put it up, I pray thee:
Passive to his holy will,
Trust I in my Master still,
Even though he slay me.'"

SUMMARY

Thus we have seen that Whittier expressed his Quaker doctrines through the medium of his poetry. He never failed to recognize the Omnipotence of God manifest through man. He revolted against clergy in all his poetry but more noticeably in his religious poems. The existence and actions of this august body was very depressing to the poet and he took every advantage to voice his disapproval of it. He was constantly guided and directed by the principle of the Inner Light, which is the basic tenet of his sect. Whittier looked forward to the steady gain of man, and voiced his sentiments of this progress in his poetry. Man, he believed, was constantly improving himself in the sight of God. There were a great number of hymns composed by the poet to shower honor and glory upon the name of the Divinity and many of these, because of their beautiful thoughts and expressions, have been put into music. Whittier's religious poems are all encircled with the halo of Quakerism. Though their thoughts are exquisite, they would have more appeal if the author had allowed himself to enjoy a catholic sympathy with religions other than his own.

In his anti-slavery poems the basic element is Freedom. Through his actions for the cause of the lowly slave, he

incurred the animosity of his fellow-men. This thought, however, did not deter him from producing burning lines of invective against the South. He dedicated his poems to the men who joined the cause, or those who by their actions were interested in the cause of the oppressed. In this slavery group we find that he spared no effort to place before the public the evils of that institution. His Quaker principles stood mainly for equality to all men, since the basic principle of that religion presupposes that all men are endowed with the same faculties and powers. He would not allow himself to print any poem in open praise of war. Whittier preferred to do his fighting with a pen and it was his firm conviction that the slaves could be freed without war. Whittier in this group of poems, did not single out any national heroes for the subject of his verses, but preferred to deal with those whom are not as a rule well known. They were champions of a cause that appealed to his heart and he eulogized them in his poetry.

The last group of poems shows that Whittier was influenced by the sufferings of the early martyrs of Quakerism. The punishments that were inflicted upon the Southwick family stirred him to the depths of his Quaker heart. The heroes of his religion were extolled along with the defaming of their oppressors. He did not openly declare himself against the rulers of that time but his various inferences have a very

marked meaning. The laws that were enacted against the Quakers and the sufferings that were attendant upon their applications also furnished themes for the poet. The poems were not confined to any locality, but he even found subjects across the sea. Whittier meant to show the progress that men had made since the days when Quakers were persecuted. These oppressed people were not illustrious to the world but they were dear to him since they stood for the endurance of his religion. This narrow confinement within this sect has limited the spread of Whittier's genius a great deal. It is pathetic that a man is so little appreciated whose one great doctrine was "Love to All."

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